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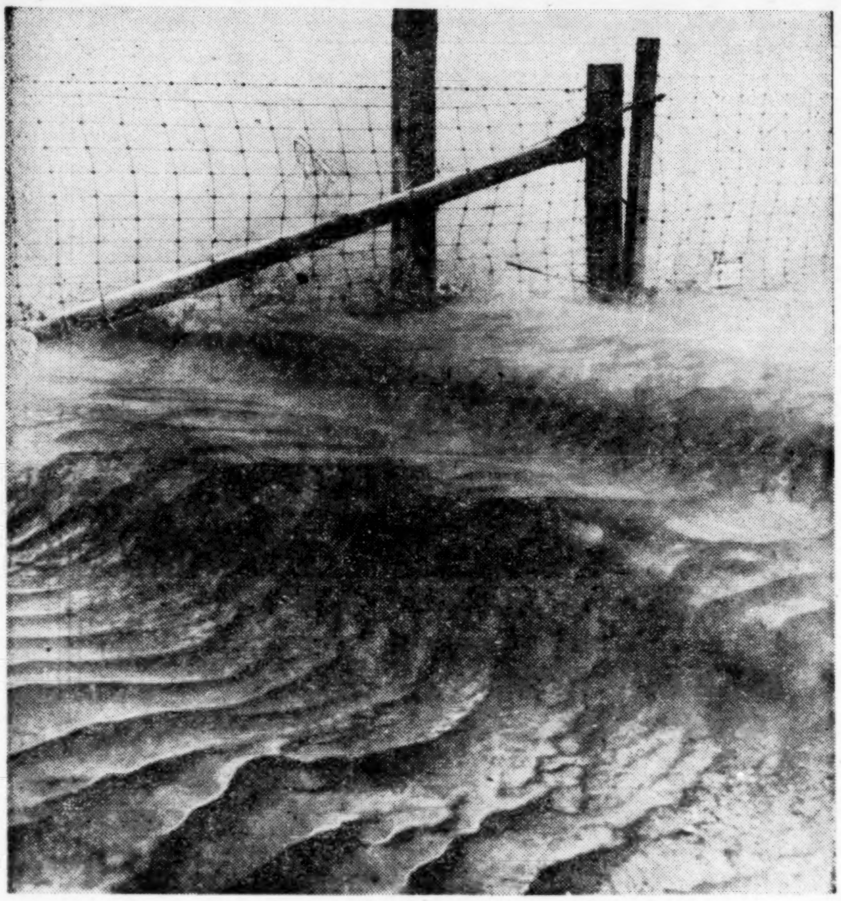

Drought
A scene near Amarillo, Tex., after a recent storm

PERIL OF WORLD WAR III

The 'power vacuum' myth in Mid-East

By Kumar Goshal

THE FIRST HINT of a decisive change in U.S. foreign policy came Dec. 27 with a report that President Eisenhower was planning to ask Congress for standby power to use American military forces "to oppose any Soviet aggression in the Middle East."

The plan was said to have been in preparation for a week before the story was leaked. It was known that the President had discussed the Middle East with the National Security Council and with Secy. of State Dulles. Dulles then held a series of conferences with allied diplomats on the plan.

On Dec. 31, during a two-hour session, Dulles told UN Secy. Gen. Hammarskjold that "the U.S. is determined to resist [by] force if necessary [Soviet] military, political and economic intervention" in the Middle East (**INS**, 1/1). As originator of the plan, Dulles made it amply clear that, no matter what detours he made, he always returned to his "brink of war" policy.

NEW YEAR'S BRIEFING: In his statement to the press Dulles by force of habit cloaked his bellicosity in moral garments. He said the U.S. must protect the Middle East which contained "the resources, the channels of communication [and] the holy shrines which symbolize the faith of three great religions," making it "immensely important to all freedom-loving, God-fearing people." He piously added: "We must live by the golden rule."

On New Year's Day, the President and Dulles briefed Congressional leaders of both parties on their proposal. "If the Russians go into the Middle East," Dulles told them flatly, "and we don't stop them there, we are gone." The advance press publicity and briefing of Congressional leaders were obviously meant to assure approval by Congress when the President made his request formally. Democratic party leaders were reported (**Times**, 1/2) not especially "happy about facing such a request on the first day of the year." But both Senate majority leader Johnson and House Speaker Rayburn were said to look favorably on the plan.

It was reported that the President would make his proposal to Congress in person some time this month.

UNEASY FEELING: The U.S. press promptly fell in line, even though this was a complete reversal of the President's previously-announced policy of working only by peaceful means and through the UN to solve Middle Eastern problems.

James Reston (**N.Y. Times**, 12/30/56) called it "a major policy decision" notifying the world "that the U.S. regards the Middle East as a vital area that must not be dominated by Soviet power."

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CONSERVATION IS THE ANSWER

Worst U. S. drought in history ravages 29,000,000 acres

By Lawrence Emery

SINCE THE 1880s, when plows first broke the Great Plains, an area of some 200,000 square miles in parts of five states has been hit by cyclical droughts about once every 20 years. In the dry years many abandoned their farms and ranches, but in the wet years the dry years were forgotten: when the going was good stockmen overgrazed the ranges and wheat farmers put the plow to land that never should have been turned to cultivation. When water was abundant, few measures were taken, if any, to conserve it. With each succeeding drought erosion became more severe.

The consequences of the misuse and mismanagement of the land became clear in 1931. The drought that began that year lasted for seven years on the Southern Plains, for five years on the Northern. Crops withered and died, wells dried up, subsoil moisture vanished, the earth cracked. When the winds came whole farms simply blew away in massive clouds of dust and whole regions became barren shifting sand dunes. The Great Dust Bowl became a monument to the lack of planning to conserve natural resources.

SEVEN DRY YEARS: But in 1940 the rains came again and drought regions were resettled. Under the pressure of needs during the war years—together with high prices for wheat and other grains during that period—millions of additional acres of grassland were plowed up. The good times lasted up to 1949. Then the drought set in once more. It has now lasted seven years (going on eight) and is the worst in living memory. A year ago the Dept. of Agriculture reported that nearly 20,000,000 acres were in a condition to blow away as dust (Kansas, Western Texas and Colorado were hardest hit); the day after Christmas, 1956, the Department upped its figure to 29,000,000 acres dried out and ripe for blowing. During the Fall 2,000,000 acres were severely damaged by wind, including nearly 250,000 acres of growing wheat. The Department said: "Reports indicated that in many places the moisture conditions are

(Continued on Page 4)

THE BUS INTEGRATION STORY

Violence vs. non-violence: The battle of the South

By Eugene Gordon

AMERICA'S Negro "Freedom Fighters" had displaced the Hungarian "Freedom Fighters" in daily press page-one headlines at the week's end. These attacks against non-violent fighters for human rights were reported from the Deep South, among others:

- A charge of buckshot blasted the front door of the home of Rev. Martin Luther King Jr., president of the Montgomery Improvement Assn., which conducted the year-long anti-jimcrow bus strike in that city.
- The Birmingham home of Rev. F. L. Shuttlesworth was destroyed and adjacent houses damaged by a bomb. Mrs. Shuttlesworth, two children and a neighbor required hospitalization. Rev. Shuttlesworth is chairman of the Alabama Christian Movement for Human Rights, organized to succeed the state-outlawed NAACP.
- Rocks smashed through the windows of the home of Rev. C. K. Steele, a leader of the bus integration movement in Tallahassee, Fla. A grocery store owned by cousins of Dan Speed, who ran the Tallahassee car pool, also was damaged by vandals.
- Unidentified gunmen fired on two Montgomery buses on night runs. The first, carrying several passengers, got a load of birdshot at close range. Nobody was hurt. Nine .22 caliber bullets pierced the second bus, empty except for the driver. He escaped injury.
- Ollie Mae Collins, 15-year-old Montgomery Negro girl, was beaten to her knees by a group of young white men and left crying on the sidewalk.
- Mrs. Janie Ruth Wilson of Montgomery was shoved and slapped by a white man as she rose to leave the bus at her stop.
- Mrs. Rosa Jordan, 22-year-old laundry worker, was sitting in the last seat of a Montgomery bus—the area formerly reserved for Negroes—when a bullet pierced the wall of the bus and entered both legs. Mrs. Jordan is eight months

(Continued on Page 9)

NEXT WEEK
Anna Louise Strong
on the
'Tragedy of Hungary'
DON'T MISS IT

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THE MAIL BAG

The Pope's message

HAVERHILL, MASS.

The Pope's message was entirely different from past talks to the world, a new type of Christmas message. This time the Pontiff wasn't crying out against the fallibility of democracy and exhorting the people into a renewed faith in the infallible ironclad dictatorship of the Vatican. He seemed this Christmas to be upholding the democratic right of a people to act in support of popular beliefs upheld by the common consent of the majority. That the Vatican did not believe in the democratic will of the people has always been the quarrel between the spiritual dictatorship of Rome and the ideals of democracy.

If the Hungarians choose this particular moment to become unwary and dissolve the defensive unity of the Red countries, that is Hungary's right and privilege. Every country has the democratic right to act as they choose even if they choose to damn their own future in so doing.

Why couldn't the Hungarians have used the strike as their sole weapon against the intolerable conditions and win as East Germany did?

After the way that the Russians were devastated in World War II, knee-deep in blood, it is small wonder that they should be afraid of any revolutionary disorder that might give the U.S. or some other NATO country the excuse to interfere in Europe and thus start another war. **M.I.L.**

How Crazy Can You Get Dept.

Thailand: Although probably the most corrupt government in Southeast Asia, it is firmly pro-American, is probably the strongest free nation in the area.

Parade, Oct. 14

One year free sub to sender of each item printed under this heading. Winner this week: R. F. M., Syracuse. Be sure to include original clipping (and date) of each entry.

Bread-basket discounts

DETROIT, MICH.

In Wilmore, Ky., there is an organization called the Tel-Ten System which is coordinating the production of good food grown in healthy soils by small farmers in a cooperative and the marketing of it, through small storekeepers, with a cash discount each month to the purchaser on purchases and on the purchases of people whom he or she registers. (Each purchaser is urged to "tell ten" others.)

In this cooperative project the purchaser benefits by the good food he purchases. The brand name is STA-MIN-A which stands for Standard Mineral Availability, a guarantee that the food is grown in healthy soil farmed in the best natural manner, and rich in natural vitamins and minerals, things in which much of our modern food is deficient to the great detriment of our health.

The small farmer and the small storekeeper, both having a tough time at present, are helped and benefited, as will be our whole economic system and the land of the USA, now being mined by big business farmers who produce primarily not to provide the people with healthy food, but to make money. I would like to draw the attention of your readers to this cooperative idea and to ask them to write for further particulars to the Tel-Ten System, Ac. No. 39, Wilmore, Ky.

(Rev.) Clarence E. Duffy

In anger on Hungary

HAMBURG, N.Y.

In a few weeks I will have completed my first year as a subscriber to the GUARDIAN. It has been an enjoyable and refreshing year in which I have been able to view foreign and domestic affairs from the vantage point of those who are more interested in human rights than power politics and war camps.

As it should be, I have found disagreement in many of your interpretations in current events and political happenings and trends. Yet I am happy to say that your reportage on the domestic front, of our late elections, civil rights and civil liberties, the witch-hunt, suppression of unpopular thought and other issues I am in complete agreement with.

May I say that your recent coverage (and as yet, not any editorial stand!) on what you term to label the "events in Hungary" have challenged your right to speak for libertarian and progressive Americans. I usually attempt to restrain myself from injecting any emotional feelings when expressing a point on matters like these, but I find myself addressing you in anger, and I feel I am not alone with many of your other readers in so doing.

I pose as no political savant of the events which bring on social and political upheavals, yet I know one elementary fact: to have a "counter-revolution" you first have to have a genuine revolution. I have yet to read where the most militant defenders of the Hungarian CP maintain that Hungary had a "revolution" in the past 12 years. True, a social transformation from a clerical-fascist state of Horthy to a representative government occurred during those years, but who is to deny that what the 20th Congress admitted came to Russia in those very same years did not occur in Stalinist Hungary?

The fact is that Hungary could not slip into a counter-revolutionary phase simply because its revolution did not break out until six weeks ago!

You are quick to condemn a dirty imperialist war and invasion in Egypt, but you would have us sleep on the "events in Hungary" for a few weeks while Soviet tanks are slaughtering Hungarian workers so we may better determine if it is a clash for "national independence" or a "reaction." Along with that pious fraud Nehru you call the wrath of the world down on the imperialists in London and Paris, but urge greater reflection when imperialism comes in the form of Stalinist tanks and bullets!

In anger I do not say "cancel my subscription" for that is for those who have no faith in a free and independent press and in this case I have that faith. We need the GUARDIAN, and the GUARDIAN needs its readers, hence its obligation to them.

Russell W. Gibbons

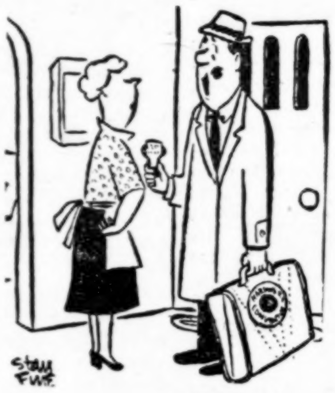
Church non-militant

BALTIMORE, MD.

Today the Catholic church in Poland enjoys more privileges than it enjoys in the United States (see **Newsweek, Nov. 19**, p. 109). And Hungary will reduce her army to 25,000 men, ending conscription (see **Newsweek, Dec. 3**, p. 16).

Were I a Hungarian, I would remain in Hungary and escape military service rather than come to the U.S. and be drafted.

Lewis Bayard Robinson.



Wall Street Journal

"Well, aren't you going to congratulate me? I won first prize for sales and a kiss from Miss National Hardware."

Who's stopping, where?

SAN DIEGO, CALIF.

The dyspeptic Harry Schwartz closed a recent viewing-the-Soviets-with-alarm column in the **Times** with the curious suggestion that, unless I misinterpreted, the Kremlin might miscalculate on our hesitating before the brink of war. Just who then does he mean is threatening "to plunge the world into Armaggedon?" I have written, probably in vain, to inquire if Mr. Schwartz believes that we would not or should not stop short of the brink. If the Kremlin miscalculated on our hesitating, would it not then be calculating correctly from its viewpoint? Or is Mr. Schwartz peddling vicious speculation through the **Times?**

Am reminded of the Christian suggestion of AEC Commissioner Thomas E. Murray, that we concentrate on the development of small nuclear weapons consistent with the moral principles of our civilized tradition.

Harry C. Steinmetz

The world's belly

COHASSET, MASS.

Sen. Herbert Lehman of New York said that he has never been more troubled and alarmed by the state of the world and urges a new Marshall Plan to provide large scale economic assistance for the people of Europe and Asia. He said that the Federal government was fostering a false sense of security and well-being in the face of worsening world situation. Here at last is a sincere man who says that we must feed Europe and Asia if we care to maintain the peace. Now what is the connection between the state tranquility and the belly of the world?

It is not the wisdom of the head that reforms, upsets and throws down from the foundation the various political systems. It is the rumblings of the stomach that bring social revolutions. A person who has an abundance of nutriments in the freezer cares very little how he is governed or by whom. But from the moment he is deprived of his food, he begins to discover what stands between him and the grocery store . . . Then this silent man of yesterday, this law abiding citizen, is transformed into a bloodthirsty revolutionary and, as a result, the peaceful community is devoured by fire and steel.

Paul D. Zanny

Pen-friends wanted

CALCUTTA, INDIA

I am desirous of establishing a pen-friendship with persons of about my own age of any country. Of course, letters should be written in English as I do not know any other language except my own mother tongue, Bengali. I take a keen interest in politics. I have a great eagerness to know the evolution of different social customs and manners in different countries.

Biswanath Banerjee, c/o M/s
Hoare Miller & Co. Ltd.
5 Fairlee Place, Calcutta, India

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REPORT TO READERS

Scissors out!

MONEY MAKES THE MARE GO, as the old saw says, but that is not the point of this Report to Readers. We have more to say about making the mare go in our New Year letter to subscribers, just going into the mails this week. It contains a modest but mighty nice gift offer. A postcard will bring a copy of the letter to any non-subscriber.

What we seek via this week's Report to Readers is a New Year resolution on your part to keep the GUARDIAN in touch with news and developments in your area which you think interesting and of concern to other readers nationally.

A CASE IN POINT—where readers in some communities came through nobly and others didn't—was the recent cross-country jaunt of Rep. Clyde Doyle and his subcommittee of the House Un-American Activities Committee.

From Youngstown, O., the committee's first stop, we received nary a newsclip nor a line of comment. From Chicago we got a pretty good smattering on one session, then nothing more.

From San Francisco area, we got a fine, fully-detailed advance memo on the committee's plans for the whole Northwest from one of the people summoned, and later a most complete batch of newsclippings on the hearings themselves. From Los Angeles we got no advance memo, but daily clips by special delivery: and from Seattle a full batch of clippings, although a mite late.

FOR 1957, this sort of cooperation from you and your community is needed more than at almost any other time in our eight years of publication. At the start in '48, we had a live-wire Progressive Party throughout 48 states, which kept us industriously informed while and where it lasted. In addition, we subscribed from the start to Federated Press, the national labor news service which kept us well-informed in many areas of news not covered by the commercial press services.

Federated Press has unhappily been forced to curtail its coverage drastically and there is no way to replace this kind of national newsgathering unless you, the reader, will undertake to become a self-appointed correspondent from your community.

YOU DON'T NEED any more tools than a pair of scissors, a typewriter, if handy, or a good round ball-point. What we need are newsclips on labor, political action, civil rights, freedoms, civic or community actions of general interest; plus your own brief comments if required for background or steering.

If you'll just make a habit of clipping such items in your daily reading we'll try to make it as easy as possible to get them to us. You who are Buck of the Month pledgers can include timely clips in your monthly envelopes.

Any old GUARDIAN business-reply envelope you may have saved is good for this purpose; and we'll try to acknowledge each such news-batch with reply-envelopes for the next time. Of course if you think the news is truly hot, send it airmail, special delivery, or both.

WITH YOUR NOSE FOR NEWS, and our New Year resolution to keep stories briefer to make room for others, we together can make the 1957 GUARDIAN a true mirror of the concerns and activities of American progressives everywhere.

THE GUARDIAN

KHRUSHCHEV STATES HIS VIEWS

New criticism of U.S.S.R. made by progressive Jews

PROGRESSIVE JEWS in many parts of the world last week were disturbed at the failure to date of the Soviet Union to fulfill promises made last summer to re-establish Jewish culture in that country. The Warsaw **Folksshtimme**, the Canadian Jewish weekly **Vochenblatt** and the New York **Morning Freiheit** were among left-wing publications asking insistent questions and taking issue with remarks of two Soviet officials first published in the GUARDIAN in interviews with Tabitha Petran during her recent visit to the U.S.S.R.

Most direct of the three publications was the **Folksshtimme** which directed an open letter to Leonid F. Ilyitchev, press chief of the Soviet Foreign Ministry, who called an April 4, 1956, article in that paper "slanderous and anti-Soviet" (GUARDIAN, 9/3/56). The article confirmed the execution and imprisonment of many leading Jewish cultural figures during the Stalin regime. **Folksshtimme,** which is the official Communist publication for Poland's Jewish community, immediately wrote Ilyitchev asking him: "What in your interview . . . is accurate and what is a result of journalistic suggestiveness?" When Ilyitchev failed to reply after six weeks, the open letter was published, taking his silence as an indication "that the interview is authentic."

QUESTIONS ASKED: Folksshtimme took particular exception to Ilyitchev's charge that its writers "had picked up facts and distorted them according to a certain tendency" and that the offending article was "an intermixture of certain real facts and certain fantasies. The authors used the real facts to make the fantasies look true."

The paper asked: "With what facts do you substantiate, Comrade Ilyitchev, your characterization of our article? With what facts do you demonstrate that we erred and did not tell the truth?" It added that "we believe that the undeserved characterization of our article is a remnant of the former Stalin style."

The paper then cites the closing of Soviet Yiddish schools in 1937-38 and ten years later the "general destruction of all Soviet Jewish cultural institutions without exception" and declares that "these institutions did not liquidate themselves by themselves, but were liquidated as Jewish institutions."

Folksshtimme acknowledges that Jews were not the only sufferers during the Stalin period, but declares: "The truth that other peoples have also suffered in the years 1949-53 cannot refute the basic fact that not only were the greatest Yiddish writers and cultural leaders arrested and murdered, but that the whole communal and cultural life of the Jews in the Soviet Union was liquidated. This unfortunately is not fantasy but the terrible truth itself."

NIKITA KHRUSHCHEV
He denied the charges

The paper asserts its "determination to demonstrate the whole truth, however painful this might be, in order that the grievances which were committed . . . should as quickly as possible be corrected and that the Jews of the Soviet Union should receive again their natural rights to develop their communal and cultural life. . . ."

EXPLANATION NEEDED: The Canadian **Vochenblatt** said Ilyitchev's interview "still fails to enlighten us as to the status of Soviet Jews as a national-cultural entity. . . . This latest in a series of 'off-the-cuff' remarks by different Soviet officials—some of them contradictory—only underscores the need for an official explanation of past and present policy."

J. B. Salsberg, long-time leader of the Canadian Labor Progressive Party (Communist) who was once expelled for citicizing Soviet policy toward Jews but reinstated with a public apology following the 20th Congress of the Soviet CP, recently concluded a series in the **Vochenblatt** reporting on his tour of the Soviet Union last summer with a four-man Canadian delegation. In the Dec. 6 issue he describes a two-hour conference, in which CP secy. Nikita Khrushchev participated, devoted almost exclusively to the Jewish problem in the U.S.S.R. Excerpts follow:

"First, Khruschev vigorously denied all of the charges of anti-Semitism directed against himself and against the party. He listed the names of numerous Soviet Jews who held key positions in the U.S.S.R. He even mentioned that his daughter-in-law was Jewish.

"He repeated the previous explanations that Soviet Jews were largely integrated in the general life of the country. He stressed that such integration was historically progressive, whereas separatism was reactionary. He disagreed with the idea of establishing Jewish schools. . . .

GOOD AND THE BAD: "He then turned to the problem of the good and bad inherent in every people, whether Russian, Ukrainian or Jewish. To make his point he listed some of the negative characteristics of the Jewish people:

- "During the incorporation into the U.S.S.R. of those parts of Rumania reaction had captured during the revolution, many Jews chose to return to Rumania rather than to adopt Soviet citizenship.
- "After the liberation of Chernovitz [Bukovina] the streets were found to be very dirty. When the Jews were asked why the streets were not cleaned they replied that the non-Jewish population that used to be responsible for this task had fled the city.
- "Thousands of Soviet citizens have taken tourist trips out of the country. Only three have failed to return. All of them were Jews.
- "Wherever a Jew sinks his anchor there immediately springs up a synagogue.
- "He, Khrushchev, voted with Stalin against the establishment of concentrated Jewish colonization in the Crimea. Such a proposition was put forward by the Jewish Anti-Fascist Committee at the close of the war against Hitlerism. It was rejected because in case of war it would provide a 'place d'armes' against the U.S.S.R.
- "Solomon Lozovsky, an old and devoted Bolshevik, for many years head of the Red International of Labor Unions, was unjustifiably executed because he got mixed up in the Crimea affair.

"(According to information at my disposal Lozovsky perished together with the Jewish writers on Aug. 12, 1952. One of Stalin's false charges against these writers and against Lozovsky was that they wanted to 'tear the Crimea away from the U.S.S.R.)' . . .

"I was very disturbed by the foregoing remarks. They express a backward prejudice against the Jews as a people—prejudice which is in contradiction with basic Marxist thought. . . . I also feel that his approach to the problems of the Jewish people is an unforgivable violation of socialist democracy. It can only lead to forced assimilation instead of voluntary integration in the course of historical evolution."

ON ASSIMILATION: Salsberg also takes note of the argument that, since Jews were not the sole victims of repressive measures, there was no anti-Semitism as such. But he points out: "If the violations of socialist principles produced ill-effects on the cultural activity of the smaller nationalities and republics, in the case of Jewish culture the result was complete extinction . . . Every form of Jewish cultural expression was destroyed at a single blow."

To him, the current Soviet approach to the Jewish people and their culture "is the most striking example of those hangovers from the past which still persist. . . ."

Both Salsberg and Chaim Suller, manager of the **Freiheit** who returned from a visit to the Soviet Union last July, disagree with the official explanation that Soviet Jews are so integrated in Soviet life that there is no need for Jewish cultural expression.

Salsberg wrote: "I am convinced that at this very moment there are large numbers of Soviet Jews that desire and need—and even crave for—Jewish cultural and communal expression . . . Indeed, objective reality in the Soviet Union is the fact that there are between two and three million Jews there. They have a centuries-old history and cultural inheritance. This has not disappeared overnight."

ROOM FOR CULTURE: Suller reported on a meeting he had with a large group of Yiddish writers in Moscow: "I told them about the theories of 'assimilation' and 'integration' of which I had heard in America and even from some people in the Soviet Union. All of the writers definitely rejected these theories. They said that there was enough room among the great masses of Soviet Jews for a real flourishing Jewish culture in the Yiddish language; that in Minsk, Birobidjan, Odessa, Bessarabia, Bukovina, and many other regions, there were great masses of Yiddish-speaking Jews and even many young people who spoke Yiddish."

At another point Suller wrote: "During the month that I spent in Moscow and Leningrad, I had many opportunities to discover that all the stories that were circulating outside Russia, and which are today still being repeated by a number of important Soviet cultural leaders—that Jews in the Soviet Union are completely assimilated, that the Yiddish language and secular Jewish life does not interest them—are not true. It is not even true in Moscow and Leningrad . . ."

During the summer both men were told that plans were under way to establish a Yiddish publishing house, to open a Yiddish theater, to publish a Yiddish newspaper and a Yiddish literary quarterly, and to call a national conference of Yiddish writers and cultural workers.

As of last week it was uncertain if any of these projects were going forward.

UNSATISFACTORY ANSWERS: Vochenblatt's editor J. Gershman, just returned from the U.S.S.R., wrote in the Nov. 29 issue: "As regards the question of Jewish cultural development, I had the opportunity of talking with and interviewing numerous people . . . I should like to indicate that I was not very satisfied with many of the answers that I received from official and unofficial sources. From what I could gather, two important projects, that of re-establishing the Moscow Jewish Theater and the publication of a Yiddish newspaper, are still in the discussion stage. There are strong differences of opinion in connection with both undertakings."

The **Freiheit** in a Dec. 23 editorial said: "There is no mistaking the fact that Jewish culture has not yet been re-established in the Soviet Union. This alone is enough to expose a distorted approach to the Jewish question, to the Jewish people, as well as to the national question in general. So at least it appears, and it affects not only the Jews but also other peoples."

The youngest fogey in the GOP talks to the oldest

The buildup of Richard Nixon goes on. Fresh from a baby-kissing expedition on the Hungarian border, he came to the Waldorf-Astoria in New York to confer with ex-President Herbert Hoover on Hungarian relief. Remember how Hoover handled Americans on relief? From the Waldorf Nixon went on to Camp Kilmer, N. J., the Hungarian refugee center, for more baby-kissing buildup.

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TIMES EDITORIAL

The attack on Rule 22

The following editorial appeared in the N. Y. Times Dec. 27:

THE CONSTITUTION of the United States says, in Article I, Section 5, that "Each House may determine the Rules of its Proceedings." There is one rule, however, that a little band of willful men has decided that a majority of the new Senate shall not determine for itself. That is Rule 22, the rule that requires a positive vote of sixty-four Senators to shut off debate on any business before the Senate. It is also the rule that permits no closure whatsoever on any motion to take up a proposed change in the rules—a built-in filibuster machine expressly designed for the purpose.

A week from today, when the Eighty-fifth Congress convenes in Washington, a new effort will be made to achieve a modification of Rule 22. Though similar efforts have failed before this—the last occasion being in 1953—the interests of democratic government require that it be made again, and again, and again, until at last it succeeds as it eventually will. In this effort Senators Douglas of Illinois, Humphrey of Minnesota and their associated group of liberal Democrats and Republicans (including Ives of New York, Case of New Jersey and Clark of Pennsylvania) ought to have the strong support and effective backing of Americans concerned with the viability of our constitutional processes. For, in essence, what these men will be doing next week when this subject comes up will be fighting to make democratic government work, fighting against the power of a determined group of die-hards to block legislation by means of that negation of the democratic process: the filibuster.

It is a travesty to wrap the mantle of "free speech" around the filibuster. That is exactly what the filibuster is not. On the contrary, it is a method by which a small but resolute group can physically prevent the enactment of legislation desired by the majority—often, as Senator Douglas points out, the overwhelming majority. One of the great blessings of our kind of government is that it protects the minority against the rash or impulsive actions of a majority. But the filibuster does not contribute to such protection. The filibuster is the antithesis of free and open debate, the considered action, the balanced evaluation of pros and cons, the careful evaluation of minority rights as against majority desires, that go to make up the kind of democracy we like to think we have.

This is true for no matter what purpose the filibuster is employed; but it is most obviously and unmistakably true when the filibuster is used as a weapon against proposals to protect minority rights. And that is precisely the purpose that many of those who defend Rule 22 and the filibuster have in mind. So long as Rule 22 stands as it is on the books of the Senate, civil rights legislation of any sort will be virtually impossible. Even a motion "to proceed to the consideration of any motion" to change the rules will be subject to unlimited "debate." This is not free speech. It is blatant obstructionism of the kind that could kill a democracy.

No one wants arbitrarily to shut off debate. What is needed is the opportunity to set a reasonable limitation on the length of debate. Yet neither the majority leader of the Senate nor the minority leader has seen fit to recognize the manifest justice of this demand. We think, however, that eventually the American people wil.

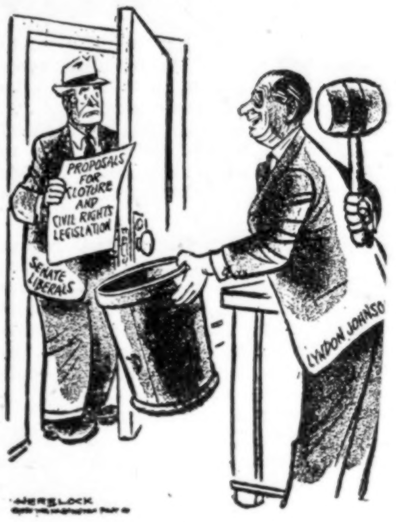
NEW DEMOCRATIC BLUNDER

Civil rights bills doomed if filibuster rule stays

THE DEMOCRATIC Nat'l Committee's pre-election pamphlet, **The 10 Most Important Issues of 1956,** was mute on civil rights. Party strategists tried to cover the omission by (1) having former Nat'l Committee chairman Stephen Mitchell confer with Dixiecrat leaders on a compromise civil rights plank for the party platform; (2) getting Northern and Southern Democrats to agree on a draft plank least likely to offend Dixiecrats; (3) writing out, as a basis for a civil-rights plank, what had been agreed on in principle between South and North. The resultant plank won no Negro votes for Presidential candidate Adlai Stevenson; it was, in fact, acknowledged by some Democrats in post-election analyses to be a serious blunder.

The Democratic Nat'l Committee recently attempted to insure itself against such blunders in the future. Its 14-member executive committee on Nov. 27 unanimously adopted California committeeman Paul Ziffren's motion to set up a Democratic advisory council broad enough to represent all segments. Nat'l Committee chairman Paul M. Butler then invited 20 leading Democrats—including Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt, former President Truman and Stevenson—to serve. Many noted his failure to invite a Negro to serve on the committee.

THE ROAD-BLOCK: The council's stated purpose was "to provide progressive and effective political leadership . . . by a continuing study of the inter-convention problems that are constantly arising and [by] suggesting programs to deal with them." But its effectiveness was almost immediately checkmated by the refusal of Texans Lyndon Johnson, Senate majority Leader, and Sam Rayburn, House Speaker, to serve. Speaking also for House Majority Leader John W. McCormack, (Mass.), Majority Whip Carl Albert (Okla.) and House Democratic campaign chairman Michael J. Kirwan, Rayburn said he wouldn't mind consulting with the advisory group but would object to working with "any committee outside the House of Representatives." Some Negro newspapers saw opposition to the council by Virginia's Gov. Battle and Sens. Byrd and Robertson as an extension of their opposition to civil rights legislation. Battle said he did not plan to serve on the council; Byrd called it "ill advised" and "of no value." Robertson felt members of Congress "are in a better position [than non-members] to decide on how to vote on any pending legislation."


PROPOSALS FOR CLOTURE AND CIVIL RIGHTS LEGISLATION
SENATE LIBERALS
LYNDON JOHNSON
HERBLOCK

Herblock in Washington Post

"Come in, Friend—I welcome suggestions."

SENATE RULE 22: To the Negro voter the most important legislation pending before the 85th Congress includes those civil rights bills which Johnson and Rayburn helped kill in the 84th. Though Johnson was reported by **UP** (11/27/56) as promising not to obstruct efforts to change Senate Rule 22 (requiring a yes vote of 64 to stop debate on any Senate business) when Congress convened on Jan. 3, Rep. Charles C. Diggs Jr. (D-Mich.) said he was "extremely disappointed and frankly amazed" that the Texan in the same statement said he did not favor any change in the rule which allows "a small but resourceful band of anti-labor, pro-segregationists in the U. S. Senate to talk civil rights to death." The Negro Representative said in an open letter to Johnson (11/28/56):

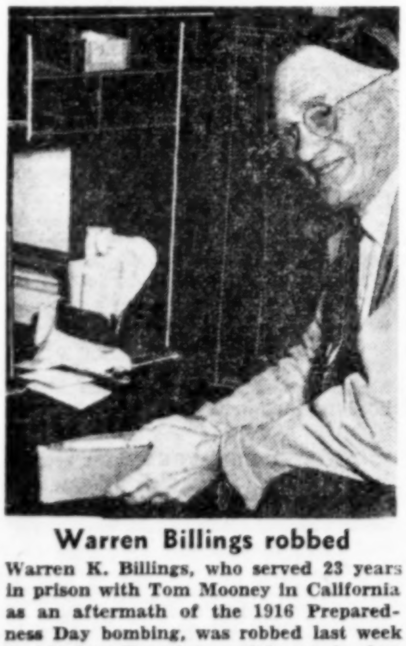
"I had hoped the results of the past election would make it eminently clear that the middle-of-the-road, don't-rock-the-boat attitude regarding civil-rights was the greatest cause of defection from the Democratic party in the North. Additionally, it was of no help in the South, if this course was pursued in the interest of appeasement. I don't see how anyone, especially in a position of leadership, can ignore these political facts of life."

PARTY IS SPLIT: The Baltimore **Afro-American's** Louis E. Lomax (12/29/56) said the civil rights issue had already split the Democratic party asunder even before Congress met. He said Chicago's Negro Democratic Rep. William L. Dawson would be made the "goat." The advisory council is said to have "leaked" the impression that Dawson is to be linked with the Dixiecrats "as a stumbling block to an effective civil rights program." Dawson is known even among Negroes as more of a "party" than a "race" man on many issues affecting Negro welfare.

N. Y. **Amsterdam News** columnist Lester Granger probably expressed the feeling of many Negroes when he wrote (12/29/56):

". . . The current version of the old melodrama, 'Congress and the Civil Rights bill,' [is] as phony as a 'diamond ring' bought in Woolworth's. The show is put on at every Congressional session because the public likes a show, demands it—today, as 40 years ago.

"The contents of the civil rights bills may change from generation to generation, but the method of their disposal never varies. They are talked to death, or they are quietly shunted out of sight and dumped into committees' baskets—or they are strangled before the committees need to bother about them."



Warren Billings robbed

Warren K. Billings, who served 23 years in prison with Tom Mooney in California as an aftermath of the 1916 Preparedness Day bombing, was robbed last week in his San Francisco watch repair shop of $19. Billings, who has been active in the fight to free Morton Sobell, so reminiscent of his own fight for freedom, told the robber: "You shouldn't do this." But his advice went unheeded.

Drought story

(Continued from Page 1)

the worst in recorded history."

Dust bowl conditions now exist in Colorado, Kansas, New Mexico, Oklahoma, Texas, Montana, Nebraska, North and South Dakota and Wyoming.

A VISIT BY IKE: A year ago President Eisenhower called on Congress to find and adopt permanent solutions for the recurring droughts in the Great Plains, but little of an effective nature was accomplished. This January the President plans to visit drought areas for conferences with Federal, state and local officials and farmers; his personal intervention may help to focus attention on the problem.

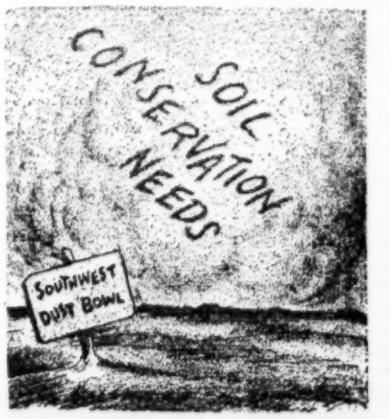
The costs of the current drought to the 17,000,000 inhabitants of the Plains states, and to the nation as a whole, are impossible to estimate, but one source puts the cost to Texas alone at $2,000,000,000. In that state 235½ of its 254 counties are now classified as disaster areas. Economic disaster has hit thousands. In one Texas county, the government is providing free food to 9,000 of the 12,000 inhabitants. But this aid is of an emergency nature and does not go to the root of the problem. Some Texans are fighting mad. Karnes County Judge W. S. Pickett has said: "We've gotten every promise we could possibly get out of the U. S. Dept. of Agriculture, but what it has done is absolutely nothing. If we can't get it peaceful, let's start a fight and get what we need. I'm worn out with promises."

DANIEL'S PLEDGE: Texas Governor Allan Shivers, who has been in office since the year the drought began, has not only refused to undertake any state drought or water-conservation program, but as a State's-rights advocate has sought to block Federal aid. His successor, Price Daniel, who takes office this month, has announced that he intends to keep the Texas legislature in session "until it solves the drought."

In Texas natural springs have dried up, wells are empty holes in the ground. Trees that were full grown when Indians roamed the plains have died. In many regions even the hardy brush and the buffalo grass are dead. Even if the rains come, entire regions will have to be completely re-seeded before the land is green again.

THE ANSWERS: The problem is not insoluble. Conservation experts know the answers. Long-range, permanent water conservation throughout the Plains states—a system of dams and reservoirs to capture the water that flows wastefully into the Gulf—is part of it. At least 14,000,000 cultivated acres must be turned back to grass-land and never plowed again. Land-use must be adjusted so that each farm and ranch is geared to its own capabilities. Scientific tillage methods must be used.

Meanwhile bankrupt Texas farmers and ranchers have revived an old joke. They tell of an early settler who wrote to an Eastern friend: "Texas is a good country. All it needs is water and a little better class of people." The reply came back: "Why, man, that's all Hell needs."



Justus in Minneapolis Star

ACCENTING IT

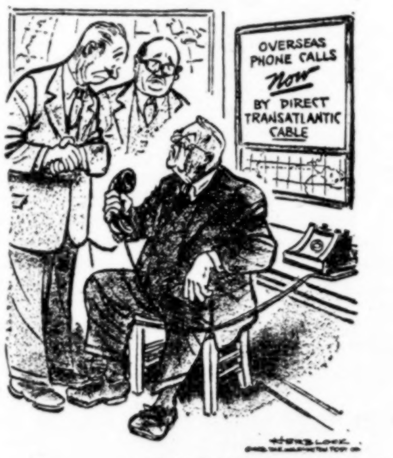
Middle East Crisis

(Continued from Page 1)

Roscoe Drummond (N.Y. **Herald Tribune,** 12/30/56) hailed it as an Administration decision "to act boldly, riskfully and decisively to secure peace in the Middle East." Neal Stafford (**Christian Science Monitor,** 12/28/56) described the plan as America's "protective mantle over the Middle East." But with all the brave bold words, a sense of uneasiness seemed to pervade the press endorsement of the new military move.

The plan was obviously unsuited to bring peace to the Middle East. It contained nothing, as the **Times** said, "that would facilitate settlement of the Arab-Israeli conflict or of the dispute over the canal." If it were meant as a warning to Moscow, such warning had already been given in a White House statement on Nov. 5, when the Soviet Union was reported ready to allow "volunteers" to support the Egyptians if the Anglo-French-Israeli forces refused to accept a cease-fire in Egypt. The Middle East members of the Baghdad Pact had already been guaranteed Washington's support in case of "aggression in the area."

FILLING THE "GAP": It was admitted, in fact, that none of the Middle East nations was threatened by Soviet aggression. Washington has been worried, however, by the increasing sentiment in the Middle East for avoiding power blocs, and by the willingness of many Arab governments to accept aid from both socialist and capitalist countries. Washington equates socialist aid with "Communist subversion." In Washington's view, **CSM** said (12/28/56), "the threat is not so much of Soviet aggression against Turkey, Iran, Iraq or Pakistan, as it is Soviet infiltration and subversion in Syria, Jordan, Egypt and Saudi Arabia." Added to this has been fear of loss of U.S. control of the fabulously profitable oil resources of the Middle East.

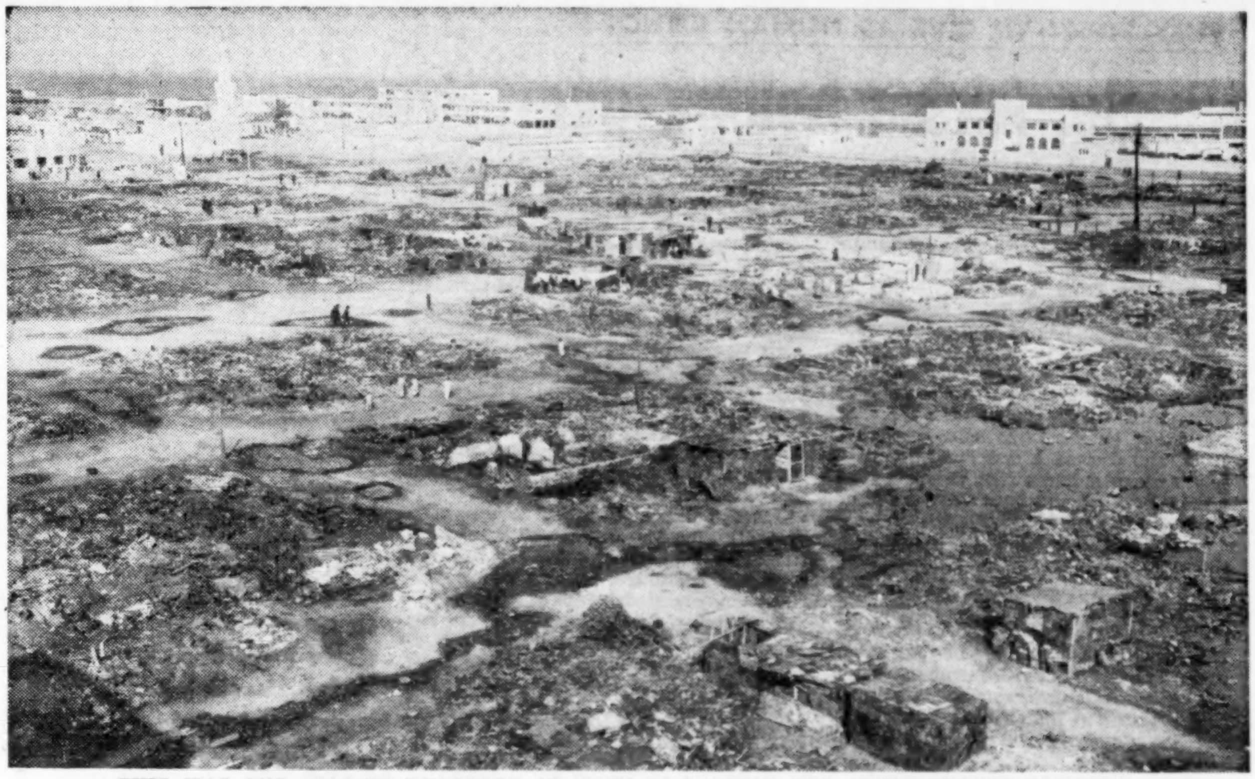


Herblock in Washington Post

"The news doesn't sound any better."

In these circumstances, the Eisenhower Administration seemed to have decided to fill what it considered the "serious Middle Eastern gap" in its military chain around the Soviet Union, and the "dangerous vacuum" created by the elimination of British power in the Middle East. But recent events all over the world have indicated that such a policy is doomed to failure.

"POWER VACUUM": The world landscape today is dotted with the wreckage of U.S.-sponsored military alliances, and there is an increasing demand for liquidation of American military bases overseas. Public outcry against these bases is heard even in countries such as the Philippines and Japan, so long dependent on American handouts. "Certain developments," the **Times** said gingerly (12/30/56), "tended to render such organizations as NATO and SEATO less effective than it had been hoped they would be."



THIS WAS THE "NATIVE QUARTER" OF PORT SAID AFTER THE ANGLO-FRENCH BOMBING

It covered 40 city blocks of homes and shops—and it makes understandable Egyptian hatred of imperialism

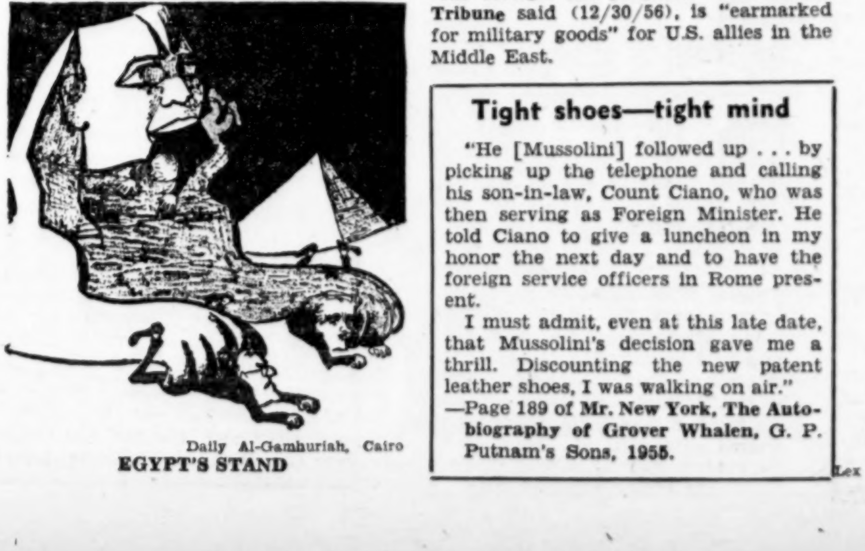
The phrase "power vacuum" is a hangover from the days when rival Western imperialist nations were carrying on cutthroat competition among themselves to carve out empires in the under-developed, defenseless regions of the world. When the Southeast Asians were fighting for their freedom, the argument was used that Moscow or even Washington would move in to fill the "power vacuum" if the European rulers were ousted. Yet, as Nehru has pointed out, the "power vacuum" has been filled by the Indians, Indonesians, Burmese and Ceylonese themselves. After Chiang Kai-shek fled to Formosa, the West predicted Moscow would move into China. Today, no one but Chiang's camp-followers question China's independence. Asked about a "power vacuum" in the Middle East during his visit to the U.S., Nehru declared his full confidence that the Middle Eastern nations themselves would fill any vacuum.

Puzzle: How to hoard Non-existent food

Word from Cairo indicates that Egyptians are hoarding fuel and food despite appeals from the Egyptian Ministry of Supply. In Cairo itself, the consumption of kerosene has risen from 150 tons to 400 tons daily. Egyptians use it for cooking, on those occasions when they have food.

—Philadelphia **Inquirer,** Dec. 24.

GRAVE WARNINGS: The Arab countries have shown little enthusiasm for the Administration's new proposal. Syria's Ambassador, Dr. Farid Zeineddine, the **Times** reported (12/31/56), "echoed private comments of other Middle Eastern envoys by warning that the 'implications' of the steps planned by the Administration could be 'very grave'." India's reaction, the **Times** said, was that U.S. "military intervention" in the Middle East "would probably bring disaster . . . and create new antagonisms and new dangers of war."



Daily Al-Gamhuriah, Cairo

EGYPT'S STAND

Dr. Zeineddine challenged Washington's right to plan unilateral use of troops in the Middle East. He pointed out that, under the UN Charter, a country can use its armed forces for purposes other than its territorial defense only if those forces are placed under UN command. He denied the necessity for outside powers filling any political vacuum" in the Middle East, saying that Middle Eastern nations were filling it themselves. He attributed Middle East tensions to "Israel and the Zionists" rather than to Soviet penetration, which "is not so real."

ISRAEL AND LEBANON: Even the British Conservatives were acidly asking why they should praise the U. S. for doing something that Washington condemned them for undertaking. Only Lebanon and Israel seemed to favor the Eisenhower plan. In a guarded statement Lebanese Foreign Minister Malik said "in a preliminary manner" that the U. S. would serve the cause of peace if it should "fill the [power] vacuum" in the Middle East.

Israel, in a military and political dead-end, indicated it might reverse its past policy of barring "the stationing of any foreign troops on her soil" (**N. Y. Times,** Dec. 30). A government spokesman in Jerusalem said Israeli policy on having foreign troops in Israel "is flexible [and] will depend on what final proposals are made." He said it might be arranged under a collective security plan.

To soften the thudding impact of his proposal, the President is expected to ask Congress also for additional economic aid for the Middle East. But most of this "fat foreign aid program," the **Herald Tribune** said (12/30/56), is "earmarked for military goods" for U.S. allies in the Middle East.

Tight shoes—tight mind

"He [Mussolini] followed up . . . by picking up the telephone and calling his son-in-law, Count Ciano, who was then serving as Foreign Minister. He told Ciano to give a luncheon in my honor the next day and to have the foreign service officers in Rome present.

I must admit, even at this late date, that Mussolini's decision gave me a thrill. Discounting the new patent leather shoes, I was walking on air."

—Page 189 of **Mr. New York, The Autobiography of Grover Whalen, G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1955.**

MONROE & EISENHOWER: The press has dubbed the President's program the "Eisenhower Doctrine," linked it to the Monroe Doctrine; but the similarity is in name only. The Monroe Doctrine told Europeans to stay away from America's neighborhood, while Eisenhower is telling the Soviet Union to leave the Middle East (close to its border) in U.S. hands. The Truman Doctrine gave financial and arms aid to Greece and Turkey; the Eisenhower Doctrine threatens to thrust U.S. military forces bodily into the Middle East.

Early comment suggested that the President's proposal would meet rough going in Congress; but whether the opposition would hold was another question. Sen. Hubert Humphrey (D-Minn.) called the reversal of policy "adolescent and shocking." Sen. Mike Mansfield (D-Mont.) was "very doubtful" about the proposal. Sen. William Langer (R-N.D.), who opposed granting the President such power regarding Formosa, said he would do the same in the case of the Middle East.

Nevertheless, in the light of the President's plurality in the last election, it seemed certain that Congress would grant his request in some form, as it did on Formosa.

However, should this swift reversal of policy be followed through, it would tend to confirm two things: (1) the already widespread belief both in Asia and Europe that the U.S. sided with Egypt in the UN only to be able to supplant the British and French in the Middle East; (2) that it is now entering the Middle East militarily to secure what it thinks it has gained. But the "gains" almost certainly will prove to be a mirage—and they may lead to World War III.

Lex in Der Groene Amsterdammer, Amsterdam

THEY FIGHT TO LIVE AS HUMAN BEINGS

So. Africa boiling over 'treason' trials

Special to the GUARDIAN

LONDON

IN JUNE, 1955, the most representative gathering in the history of the Union of S. Africa was held at Johannesburg, when 4,000 delegates to a Congress of the People proclaimed a ringing Charter of Freedom. The multi-racial state's common folk of every color were giving their answer to a government which has written racism, political censorship and arbitrary arrest into law; condemned whole communities to slow starvation by uprooting and scattering them, and decreed a system of "educating" African children that they are "innately inferior" and must "live a life of service to the white man."

Ever since the Congress, Nationalist Premier Strydom's police have been raiding S. African homes to collect evidence of "treason." On Dec. 5 the round-up of progressive "traitors" began; by the 20th, 153 had been arrested in pre-dawn swoops, mostly leaders or members of the 1955 gathering's three sponsoring groups, the African and Indian Natl. Congresses and the Congress of Democrats. From their various home cities they were flown to Pretoria, then taken by bus and army truck to Johannesburg where they were jailed in the Fort.

MOSES KOTANE

The price of freedom

THE ONES SEIZED: Those arrested were Afrikaners, English, Jews, Africans, "Colored," and Indians, men and women. Their only common denominator was opposition to racism. They included:

- Prof. Z. K. Matthews, acting principal of Fort Hare University for Africans, internationally-known educator recently in the U.S. on a fellowship;
- Rev. Douglas C. Thompson, for 11 years a Methodist Church circuit superintendent and active in temperance and social welfare work, who had been at a dying parishioner's bedside till 2 a.m. and was arrested two hours later;
- L. B. Lee-Warden, independent Liberal MP representing Cape Western "natives";
- Mrs. Brian Bunting, wife of the former "natives'" MP, now editor of the progressive weekly **New Age**;
- Leslie Messina, secy of the S. African Congress of Trade Unions, the only one of several trade union centers without a color bar;
- Nearly all African and Indian Natl. Congress leaders including P. Nokwe, the only African barrister in the Transvaal; ANC acting secy. W. Sisulu, author of **S. Africa Behind Bars**; Moses Kotane, ANC leader who attended the Bandung conference and returned home early this year GUARDIAN (1/2/56).

CHILDREN LEFT: The three small children of a nursery-school teacher and her husband, and of an attorney separated from his wife, were left to fend for themselves as police cars rushed their parents to waiting planes. ("It is difficult to believe that these children will not be cared for," said the judge, denying the parents bail.) One arrested parent of two has advanced tuberculosis, another a chronic heart condition. An Indian lawyer in Durban was found in bed recovering from an operation performed 48 hours earlier; police guarded his home and it was proposed to set up a special court at his bedside to indict him.

Police ransacked the homes of their victims, and of many others not arrested, for "treason" evidence. Seized documents included copies of Father Huddleston's **Naught for Your Comfort** and the Webbs' book on the U.S.S.R., and photographs of Canon Collins of St. Paul's Cathedral, London, and of the Rev. Michael Scott, two campaigners for African rights.

STAND SIX DEEP: After some delay, bail was granted to all the defendants. In Johannesburg, the courtroom was stormed by Africans who "stood six deep around the doors and hung at the windows" (Johannesburg **Star**) when the first batch of prisoners were brought in from the cells beneath. The magistrate reprimanded the prisoners for giving the "Afrika" thumbs-up salute in the courtroom, but at next morning's continuation of the hearing complained that they were still giving it "when I couldn't see them."

The Johannesburg **Star** said this would be the first time S. Africans had ever been charged with treason except "in time of war or rebellion." Of the dawn arrests, it said: "The later the time when such operations are undertaken the more public disturbance they cause, and the police authorities . . . are not desirous of causing unnecessary scenes in the streets." The more liberal newspapers indicated some sense of shock by big spreads of news and pictures, but under the law—as the **Cape Times** noted editorially (12/8)—could neither comment nor publish comment from abroad. A Johannesburg **Star** man visited the Fort and reported that the prisoners "have benches . . . the cells have good bedding [and] women prisoners have beds." The chief of the Fort's "courteous officers," Col. Scholtz, said "they are reasonably free" and were eating "a sort of army skilly—I can assure you it tastes pretty good."

PREMIER STRYDOM

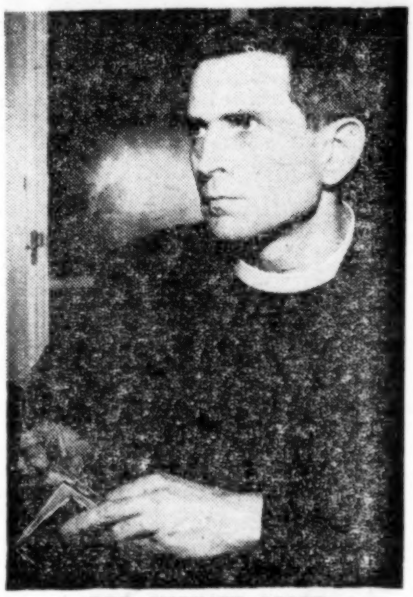
The raids came at dawn

MOST DISTASTEFUL: In Britain, the **Manchester Guardian** called the arrests "as puzzling as they are extraordinary" and drew attention to the defense funds opened by Canon Collins's "Christian Action" group and the Movement for Colonial Freedom. (S. African defense funds were sponsored by the Archbishop and the Dean of Cape Town, the Bishop of Johannesburg, author Alan Paton and Labour Party leader Alex Hepple.) The London **Times**, observing that all those arrested were, "it is safe to say, distasteful to the party in office," saw the S. African government's action as belonging "to a type recently familiar in many countries, the violent outburst of an authoritarian regime in a panic." The **New Statesman & Nation** commented sardonically on the S. African defenders of "Christian civilization" who "even prohibit games on Sunday" but to whom "black people no longer appear as human beings."

The S. African Labour Party, with five MP's out of a total of 159 which has unequivocally opposed all the Nationalist government's measures, was set for a campaign of all-out protest. An indication of the breadth of opposition to official racism was a meeting called in the week of the arrests by 613 Cape Town University graduates, who with one contrary vote strongly opposed a proposal to make their university lily-white. (Two other S. African universities, Natal and Johannesburg, are still unsegregated.)

POLICE OPEN FIRE: The preliminary examination opened Dec. 19 in the Johannesburg Army Command Drill Hall, since there was no courtroom big enough to hold the court officials, the public and the 153 defendants.

Violence against sympathizers outside the hall by police occured on each of the three days of preliminary examinations. On Dec. 20 police used clubs and tear gas, finally opened fire on the crowd with Sten guns. Twenty-two persons were hospitalized. Another 400 demonstrated the next day and were charged by club-wielding police; five Africans were injured.



REV. MICHAEL SCOTT

His photograph verboten

In its opening phase, the prosecution charged that the defendants, the overwhelming majority of whom are liberals, believed that real freedom exists only in Communnist countries and therefore advocated a "people's democracy" modelled after Eastern European countries. It said the treason charge was based on "incitement and preparation for the overthrowing of the existing state by revolutionary methods involving violence." The trial was recessed to Jan. 9.

Under S. Africa's elastic treason law, a jury trial is not mandatory for persons so charged, and a special court can be set up with judges carefully selected by the government. The law makes it punishable not only to commit treason but to "prepare to commit" it or fail to tell the police of plans for a treasonable act. The Nationalist government is expected to "prove" treason by identifying itself with the state, as could not be done under Anglo-Saxon law permitting free opposition to the reigning government. Socialist and anti-racist books are expected to be used as evidence, following the U.S. witch-hunt technique.

Treason, under S. African law, is punishable by death. The address of Canon Collins's defense fund is 2 Amen Court, London, E.C. 4.

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THIS VERY ENGLAND

Piddle or puddle?

THE ENTIRE PARISH council of Puddletown, Dorset, has threatened to resign unless Dorset County Council rescinds its decision to change the name of the village. The county council want to call it Piddletown.

Mr. R. Banfield, chairman of the parish council, said recently: "I feel so strongly about this that I am determined to resign if the council do not change their minds. And my council are behind me to a man."

The county council want to change the name to avoid confusion of villages in the Piddle Valley. It has decided on the use of the prefix "Piddle" and the suffix "puddle," that is Piddletrenthide, Piddlehinton and Piddletown but Tolpuddle, Affpuddle and Briantspuddle.

'EXPENSE OF CHANGE": Shopkeepers in the village are against it because of the expense of having to change all their business stationary and equipment. The Women's Institute is against it because its members think Puddletown "sounds nicer."

"It seems such an absolutely unnecessary expense to have to change it at all. Especially as the village want us left as we are," said Mr. Banfield.

The Women's Institute secretary, Mrs. A. Parsons, said: "We registered a protest with the county council. The name Puddletown sounds nicer anyway. To those brought up here and now away, home will always be Puddletown, in their hearts."

The village knows that the squire, Mr. W. J. Brymer, who is ill at his home Islington House, prefers Piddletown. An alderman of the county council, he expressed his support for Piddletown at last month's meeting.

VIEWS IGNORED: Villagers are indignant that the county council should have ridden roughshod over local feeling. "They invited us to express our views over their proposal," Mr. Banfield said.

"They also invited the views of the Women's Institute and Dorchester Rural Council. We were all against the change. But it made no difference."

A Dorchester Rural Council spokesman said in conclusion: "We shall continue to use the Puddletown spelling." Village opinion is summed up by Mrs. W. L. Legg, wife of the coal merchant. "Whatever the county council's decision, we shall go on calling ourselves Puddletown," she said. "We have got so used to it."

—London Telegraph, Dec. 8

THE ECHOES ARE HEARD TODAY IN AMERICA'S SOUTH AND AFRICA'S SOUTH

How Gandhi's civil resistance was born

By Kumar Goshal

ON A CHILLY spring evening in South Africa in 1893, a young lawyer from India entered a first-class compartment of a train at Durban for the overnight journey to Pretoria. He had recently arrived in South Africa to defend some Indians in a lawsuit. The compartment he entered was empty.

At Maritzburg, the capital of Natal, a white man entered the compartment, eyed the dark-skinned man coldly, left the train to fetch two station officials. Despite the Indian's protest that he held a first-class ticket, the officials ordered him to transfer to a third-class coach. When the young man insisted on his rights, a policeman came in, ejected him bodily and threw his luggage after him.

Refusing to board the third-class car, the young man sat brooding in the waiting room. The cold in the high altitude penetrated his slender body; but, fearful of being insulted again, he did not try to get his overcoat from his luggage, which the station officials were holding.

AN IDEA IS BORN: This was the frail lawyer's first violent encounter with color prejudice. During this long night's brooding he glimpsed the germ of an idea which he was to develop gradually, through trial and error, into a powerful instrument used by dark-skinned peoples the world over in their struggle for freedom, justice and equality.

The young lawyer's name was Mohandas Karamchand Gandhi, whom his countrymen were later to call Mahatma, or the Great Soul. And the instrument he forged was non-violent civil disobedience, tested first in South Africa, improved and applied later on a mass scale in India, successfully adopted by Negro Americans in Alabama and Florida, reintroduced on a vaster scale among the Africans, Indians and the Colored people in South Africa recently.

It was not an entirely new idea, though its scale and application in the present day has been unusual. It had been used by Christian martyrs in the past, and by the Quakers in the early days in America when they left their doors unlatched against hostile Indians. The lofty thoughts of many nations, ancient and modern, contributed to its development. And it was refined through application under different circumstances in different parts of the world.

INSPIRED BY THOREAU: From the ancient Indian epic **Mahabharata**—the world's longest poem, seven times as long as the **Iliad** and **Odyssey** combined—Gandhi took the concept of **ahimsa** or non-violence. Non-violence meant not merely abstention from physical violence, but control of anger and hatred. From the Bible Gandhi gleaned the doctrine of loving one's enemies, turning the other cheek to "whosoever shall smite thee on thy right cheek." But it was the New England poet and essayist Henry David Thoreau who gave political direction to Gandhi's program of non-violent civil disobedience.

The place was Poona; the charge was civil disobedience
GANDHI LEAVES JAIL AFTER SERVING 16 MONTHS IN 1933

The sage of Walden, himself influenced by Indian philosophy, wrote his famous pamphlet on Civil Disobedience after being jailed for refusing to pay taxes as a protest against Negro slavery and the U. S. invasion of Mexico.

"I know this well," Thoreau wrote, "that if one thousand, if one hundred, if ten men whom I could name—if ten **honest** men only—ay, if one HONEST man, in this state of Massachusetts, **ceasing to hold slaves,** were actually to withdraw from this co-partnership, and be locked up in the county jail therefor, it would be the abolition of slavery in America." Thoreau upheld the citizen's "right to refuse allegiance to, and to resist, the government when its tyranny and efficiency are great and unendurable."

THE "LOVE FORCE": Gandhi read Thoreau's Civil Disobedience in jail in South Africa. Until then his program for Indians in South Africa suffering from all kinds of discrimination was called passive resistance—a phrase he found unsatisfactory. "Thoreau's masterly treatise," Gandhi said, "left a deep impression on me." To the English-speaking people he described his movement as Civil Resistance. But for the Indians, he finally coined the word **Satyagraha.**

Satyagraha literally means "truth-force." Since Gandhi equated truth with love, he came to describe it as "love-force." It was, Gandhi said, "the vindication of truth not by infliction of suffering on the opponent but on one's self [and] good-will towards all, especially opponents." It was an approach, not a weapon; it was to be used to convert one's opponent, not to conquer him. It was peaceful because violence would brutalize the victor and embitter the vanquished, making reconciliation difficult. The whole purpose of **Satyagraha** was to transform those who practised injustice and inequity, not to annihilate them.

THE SALT MARCH: The first major test of **Satyagraha** came in South Africa in 1914, when Gandhi led a successful mass march of Indians protesting the tax on Indian indentured laborers who wished to stay on in Africa and the government decree making all but Christian marriages illegal. But it was most dramatically demonstrated in the historic Salt March in India in 1930, when he led thousands of Indian National Congress party members to the seashore to pan salt out of the sea water in violation of the heavily-taxed British government monopoly of salt.

Gandhi's doctrine unified and strengthened the unarmed Indian people in their struggle for freedom from British rule. For three decades, as Nehru has said, "civil disobedience struggles came one after the other, involving enormous suffering, but that suffering was self-invited and therefore strength-giving, not the kind which overwhelms the unwilling, leading to despair and defeatism."

Under fierce government repression the unwilling suffered and the willing sometimes broke down, but "many remained true and steadfast, harder for all the experience they had undergone." Until India became free, "it remained the symbol of India's passionate desire for independence and her will to resist alien domination."

MONTGOMERY ECHO: In the American Negroes' victorious struggle to end bus segregation in Montgomery, and the current struggles in Birmingham and Tallahassee, there have been many echoes of Gandhi's **Satyagraha.** Grandhi's spirit can be heard in the Montgomery Improvement Assn.'s admonition to the Negro community, after the Supreme Court victory, not to curse back if cursed, not to push back if pushed, not to go to the defense of any person being molested, and to "evidence love and good-will at all times."

Satyagraha was put into full practice in South Africa two weeks ago when Africans, Indians and Colored people massed in front of the court where their leaders were being tried for "treason" and did not retaliate when beaten up by the police (see p. 6).

Inspired by the philosophies of ancient India, the biblical Middle East and New England of the last century, **Satyagraha** has caught the imagination of the oppressed and downtrodden everywhere in the world, demonstrating the power and durability of an idea based upon truth and justice and equality.

NEGRO REPORTER IS FIRST

3 U. S. newsmen break through the passport curtain to China

WILLIAM WORTHY, 36-year old Negro journalist and correspondent for the weekly Baltimore **Afro-American,** broke through the U. S. State Dept.'s passport curtain when he crossed the Hong Kong border on Dec. 24 into China for a one-month visit. He became the first American reporter to enter China since Chiang Kai-shek fled to Formosa.

Last August Peking invited two dozen American correspondents for an unrestricted inside look at China. Most U.S. newspapers, news agencies, magazines and radio-TV chains welcomed the invitation. But the State Dept., with the express support of President Eisenhower, promptly expressed its disapproval. It pointed to the U. S. criminal statute providing a maximum five-year prison term and $2,000 fine for anyone who violates "conditions or restrictions" on a passport. U. S. passports are stamped not valid for travel to China.

OTHERS DID IT: However, newspapers recalled at the time that American correspondents and members of Congress had visited countries marked invalid for travel in their passports without incurring any penalties. Last year, for example, some correspondents visited N. Vietnam, and both N. Y. **Post** columnist Seymour Freidin and Sen. George W. Malone (R-Nev.) made highly-publicized trips to Bulgaria without incurring State Dept. retaliation or court action. Nevertheless, the big U.S. news services and newspapers last August knuckled under to Washington's order.

During his recent tour of Southeast Asia, Chinese Premier Chou En-lai renewed his invitation to American correspondents, pointed out that British and French newsmen are now permanently stationed in China. Worthy applied for and received a one-month visa from Peking authorities. Worthy has been a correspondent in Korea and in the Soviet Union and covered the Bandung cenference in 1955. A Neiman Fellow at Harvard, he most recently made a six-week tour of Africa for the **Afro-American.**

PAPER BACKS HIM: At Hong Kong, Worthy was reported to have signed documents waiving all claims against the U.S. government in the event of personal injury or detention in China. **Afro-American** editor C. W. Mackay declared that Worthy had gone to China with the full knowledge and consent of his paper. "Our position is," Mackay said, "that the State Dept. has no right to deny a man the right to travel if he had a passport."

There was evidence that Worthy's action was inspiring other American correspondents. According to **AP** (12/27), the Peking correspondent for a British news agency cabled Hong Kong Dec. 27 that Edmund Stevens, Moscow correspondent for **Look** magazine and the **Christian Science Monitor,** had arrived in China the day before. Stevens' family in Moscow said that he had gone to China for **Look,** accompanied by photographer Phillip Harrington. **CSM** carried the story without comment. **Look** has neither confirmed nor denied the report.

PASSPORTS REVOKED: Evidently worried that other correspondents would follow suit, the State Dept. on Dec. 28 announced that when the three correspondents emerged from China, their passports would be stamped "Valid Only for Return to the U.S." and revoked when they reached home. It also referred their case to the Treasury Dept. "in view of the relevant provisions of the Trading with the Enemy Act." This act would forbid their transacting any "business" in China and prevent their employers and families from sending any money to them. Conviction carries a fine up to $10,000 or imprisonment up to 10 years, or both.

An editorial in the newspaper trade journal **Editor & Publisher** strongly criticized the State Dept.'s barring American correspondents not only from China but from "any place in the world." It said: "Are the newsgathering activities of the American press subject to control by our government according to what its foreign policy might be at any given moment? We don't think they should be."

THE PESSIMISTS vs. THE OPTIMISTS

How Britain looks at the turn of the year

By Cedric Belfrage

AS THE FANTASTIC "year of Suez" dragged to a close in Britain, ships and planes to the United States were unseasonably jammed and the rush of applicants for emigration to Canada, Australia and New Zealand exceeded anything since the depression years. These scrammers are the pessimists who, with prices reaching for the stratosphere and scarcities and unemployment delevoping again, see no likelihood of "the lights going up in London" in the foreseeable future.

Post-Suez Britain, indeed, already presents a sad picture. Sun-pink Sir Anthony returned from Jamaican beaches to a sadly unenthusiastic welcome by a Parliament agonizing over the bitter fruits of his adventure. He found highways and city streets half deserted as a result of oil rationing, with London's red two-decker buses moving at an unprecedented clip but presenting riders with a New Year gift of another rise in fares. Resting his feet on the between-front-benches table in Commons between Tory henchmen whom he had left behind to face the music, Eden looked to one press observer "like a blood orange between two ping-pong balls." The casual pose was betrayed by nervous hand-twitchings as he listened to an exchange of angry Tory salvos about the "disastrous" unfairness of the ration scheme, which threatens to put many firms out of business.

THE "TRAGIC FOLLY": Right-wing newspapers supplied a chorus of accusations against "the politicians" for grabbing all the gasoline for themselves. Other MP's pointed to the unemployment specter and the thousands of workers unable to get to their now barely-heated factories. Labourite Emrys Hughes, expressing his pleasure at seeing Eden back "to clear up the gigantic mess" he had made, asked who would write the official history of the Suez "armed conflict." He suggested Air Marshal Lord Tedder, who had just described the adventure as "tragic folly," as the best man to decide whether or not it was in fact a war.

All this against a background of vicious anti-Soviet propaganda and crocodile tears inspired by Hungary, whose refugees stream into Britain protesting that they wanted to go to the U. S. and have been gypped. Typical British upper-class comic relief is supplied by a deputation calling at the Soviet Embassy to protest against cruelty to Russian dogs used in stratosphere experiments. ("Miss Yvonne Stott," reported the **Times**, "was accompanied by her Boxer bitch, which received kindly attention from the Embassy staff.")

Another group of benign Britist gentlefolk launched their annual fund drive, under the auspices of The Dowager Viscountess Galway, "for the protection of animals in North Africa." This Society complains that "recent disturbances in Algeria," where it is conceded that "animals and humans have suffered alike," have "affected our work," but they are carrying on.

Christmas, 1956—the mink was blue

This year people are getting fur gifts for the house and car, too. Women who receive the mink floor mop, $99, from Carson's and a mink-trimmed scrub brush from N. H. Rosenthal Furs can keep house in the luxury manner.

—The Feminine Angle,
—Chicago **Sun-Times**, Dec. 22.

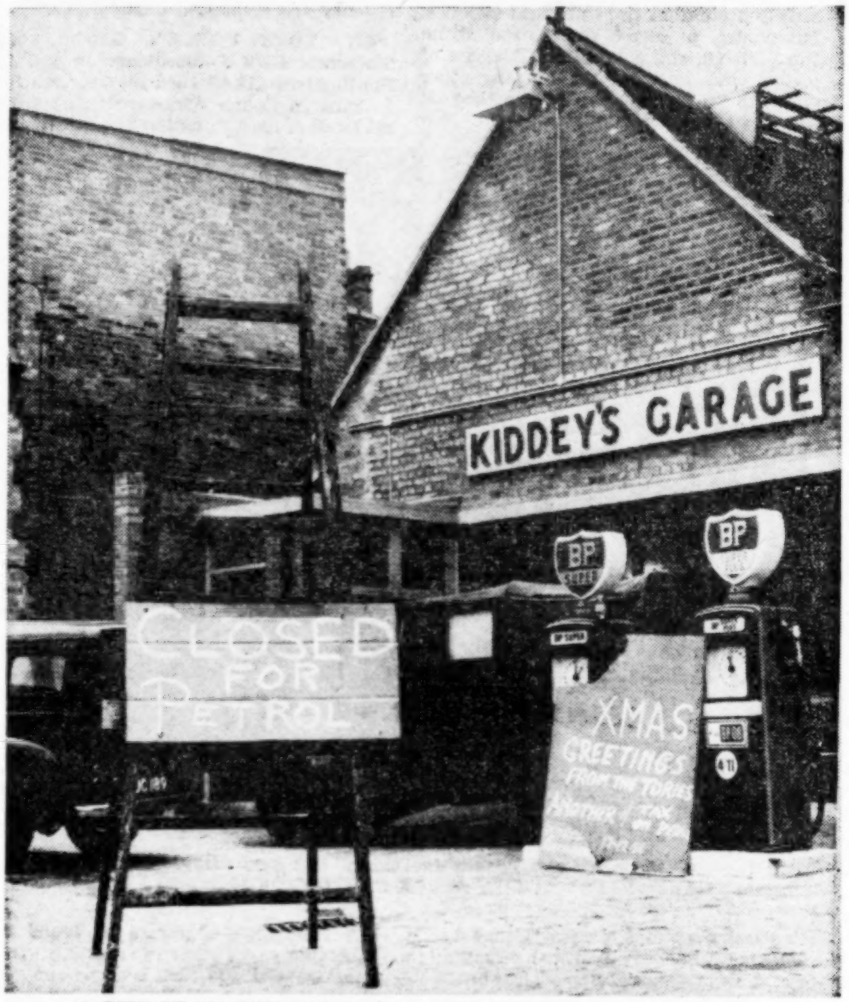
●

ST. CATHERINES, Ont., Dec. 22.—Officials are replacing a red neon star that has topped City Hall's Christmas decorations for the last five years.

A letter to the editor of the **Standard** complained that the red star made it look as if the Russians have taken over.

The new star is blue.

—Detroit **News**, Dec. 23.



A GIFT FROM THE TORIES FOR LONG-SUFFERING LONDONERS
This was the scene just before Christmas at a Balham garage

NEW UNDERSTANDING: So much for Britain's pessimists. On the other side of the year-end ledger, there is a noticeable upsurge of optimism among progressive Britons who are not hopelessly bogged down in the Communist Party's internal problems.

Certainly the thinking of everyone who indulges in that painful exercise has been rocked to its foundations by the events of the last weeks of 1956, and on all sides there is much profound re-examination of philosophical premises. But acutely tragic and dangerous as these events have been, many are beginning to see a bright side to the cloud.

These optimists see the events in Egypt and Hungary as having forced a new and deeper understanding of the two great realities of our time. The first of these realities is that all the world's peoples want both material abundance and freedom and, aware that they are within grasp, won't settle for less. The second is the one upon which West and East agreed at Geneva 18 months ago, but which it has taken the recent events to drive home everywhere: that armed force is out of date as a means of settling issues between nations.

INTERNATIONAL SUICIDE: In Britain as in France, its futility is being made clear to all in terms of simple addition and subtraction. Forcible subjection of one people to another is impossible in humanity's present mood, even if it is temporarily possible to "win" a small war; but world opinion cannot permit small wars because the danger of international suicide in a big one is too great.

Thus the propaganda being spewed forth over Hungary is seen to be a blind alley leading its authors nowhere. Realities compel a policy of co-existence, and NATO-type alliances with a "defense strategy" admittedly based on atomic weapons—a "strategy" which all know can never be used except by certifiable lunatics—are mere nonsense. The warmongers' howls continue because a giant vested interest in perpetuating the war myth has been built up, and because capitalism has yet to solve its problem of doing without the fabulous waste of war production.

But the logic of events pushes the voice of common sense through their babel, as a new note is heard in the Western approach to disarmament and to the German problem. Talk about the need for a unified, neutralized Germany guaranteed by both East and West, and for an all-European security system, spreads to ever wider and more significant circles.

BIG NEW PROBLEMS: How does the mass of British people look at the New Year? Down to the very poorest, in their "Merry Christmas" celebrations however humble, they all have once again displayed their extraordinary capacity to "make the best of a bad job." But nobody is fooling himself that Britain is not facing another period of austerity such as it hoped it had left behind after the war and post-war years.

Socialist or not, all thinking Britons are aware of the tremendous new problems added to the nation's load by the disruption of oil supplies. The country has no hope of an abundant era without a revolutionary change in its approach to power production. Neither oil nor coal nor both together can solve it; for such a country, the only answer lies in harnessing atomic power on a grand scale. But while a promising start has been made with the Calder Hall atomic power station, the Tory government can only suggest to Parliament what might be achieved in 20 or 30 years. Even for this, the people are warned they "must be prepared to undergo sacrifice" for the "tremendous investment necessary." Clearly a real atomic power program to fit Britain's industrial needs calls for a political decision.

NEW YEAR'S RESOLVE: To put the Labour Party back in power, and to compel it this time to meet the challenge of long-term planning by making such bold decisions, is the New Year resolve of British socialists. The question remains whether the "party of socialism" can be prevented from throwing away another chance to confirm the possibility envisaged by Marx—that Britain might attain socialism by peaceful change.

Yet granting all the determination necessary, the road ahead for Labour is no smooth one. If it returns to power in 1957, as it well may, the nation will be in the full grip of "Suez austerity." The greatest of its problems will be to imbue a people broadly disillusioned by its past performance with the conviction that, instead of floundering from disaster to chaos, Britain under deliberate socialist planning can and will become a land of peace and prosperity for all.

There are many pessimists weaving glumly through the year-end fogs of this island, but these are some of the things the optimists are thinking about at the funeral of 1956.

As we plunge into the task of justifying our optimism, a happy 1957 to all our brethren of progressive America.

CYRUS E. EATON

Swashbucklers, note!

A CHARGE that too many of our statesmen were "swashbucklers" grimly arranging the destruction of mankind was levelled on Nov. 14 by Cyrus E. Eaton, Nova Scotian-born iron and rail industrialist, in an interview with a Toronto newspaper.

Appealing strongly for peaceful coexistence of the rival systems of capitalism and socialism, Mr. Eaton warned that either both learn to live together or they will perish side by side.

He declared the West could not match the combined manpower of Russia and China and that the logical conclusion was "we've got to stop goading, prodding and challenging Red China and Russia."

Mr. Eaton is chairman of the Chesapeake and Ohio Railway Co., the world's largest coal carrier, head of the Steep Rock iron mines, vast iron deposits in Ungava, and a leading figure in the U. S. industrial world.

For the past two years he has been conducting what are termed "think" sessions at his Pugwash, Nova Scotia, birthplace. This past summer there was a study group which included scholars from the Soviet Union, People's China, Israel, Germany, the U. S., Britain and France.

The industrialist deplored the use of war as a means of settling differences. "Some will say such a method could never succeed, but one thing I can guarantee you: World War III won't succeed. We stand a very good chance right now of exterminating the human family."

Recognition of People's China was inevitable, he declared. "We are just hypnotizing ourselves in the extreme if we try to pretend a nation of 600 million persons does not exist."

He continued by pointing out the great cultural tradition which China had, its "marvellous literature and great artists." China was one of the oldest civilizations in the world, he said, "we are not dealing with a lot of barbarians and savages."

He added that while he was not endorsing communism, "the Chinese feel it has improved their material well-being."

—Canadian Tribune, 11/26/56.

WHEN THE PROTEST ENDED, HE RODE WITH THE LORD
Rev. Luther King (r.) sits up front in a Montgomery bus alongside Rev. Glenn Smiley of Texas.

Bus integration

(Continued from Page 1)

pregnant.

ELECTRIFYING ACT: Montgomery Police Commissioner Clyde C. Sellers, who boasts membership in the White Citizens Council, ordered all buses halted after the last shooting. He is a member of the three-man City Commission.

The commission canceled all night bus runs for the New Year weekend as an "emergency" act. There have been no arrests for any of the acts of anti-Negro violence. WCC members, including leaders of the city government, had warned of bloodshed if Negroes obeyed the U. S. Supreme Court integration edict.

Baltimore **Afro-American** editor Samuel A. Haynes wrote last week:

"The Montgomery bus strike, and the recent Supreme Court decision supporting the legal and moral issues raised by Dr. King and his association, have electrified and fortified the segregated, the persecuted and the enslaved in all lands, regardless of race, religion or nationality."

The action of Montgomery's Negroes—and the Dec. 20 high court mandate ending jimcrow on the city's buses—electrified and fortified, among others, Negroes in the sister cities of Birmingham and Mobile, Ala., and in Baton Rouge, La., Nashville, Tenn., and Tallahassee and Tampa, Fla. **UP** reported that a Negro citizen of Mississippi had filed suit in Federal Court "to desegregate buses and waiting rooms [in Jackson] unless the city does so voluntarily." A letter to Dr. King from a South African organization thanked Montgomery Negroes for inspiring similar action in Johannesburg.

On Dec. 21, Montgomery's 50,000 Negroes, after nearly 13 months of walking or riding in their own pool of cars until forbidden by court injunction, began sitting where they pleased on the buses.

TALLAHASSEE: In Tallahassee, the Inter-Civic Council had led that city's 18,000 Negroes in a stay-off-the-buses movement since the arrest last April of two women college students for occupying a "white" seat. The ICC members at a mass meeting on Dec. 21 voted to integrate themselves the next day. They ignored the city goverment's appeal to "cooperate" in maintaining jimcrow buses.

ICC leaders instead urged Florida A and M College students, returning from holiday vacation, to ignore the jimcrow rule that was in effect when they left. Tallahassee's Negroes—60% of Cities Transit, Inc.'s passengers before the boycott—found an unexpected ally in the company, which last week disobeyed City Commission instructions to enforce segregation. The city retaliated by canceling the bus franchise; but the line operated in defiance of the cancellation. It got a temporary injunction against interference. The company also sued the city for $100,000. Tallahassee asked in county court that the company be forced to continue segregated seating.

After the rock-throwing incident at the Steele home, Florida Gov. Leroy Collins on New Year's Day ordered the temporary suspension of bus service in Tallahassee. He said he acted to prevent further violence.

BIRMINGHAM: In Birmingham, Rev. Shuttlesworth's prediction that the first Negroes to sit in the front of a bus there would be arrested was fulfilled. By the week's end 22 had been arrested and trial was scheduled in City Recorder's Court for the middle of January. Rev. Shuttlesworth said the arrests would be the basis for legal action against segregated city buses.

Negro moves toward fuller freedom in Mobile, Baton Rouge and Nashville appeared to be tentative. But the white supremacists—except in Nashville—were preparing to resist. Negro and white bus passengers in Nashville for years have tended to ignore the jimcrow law.

IN LOS ANGELES JAN. 11

Forum on U. S. Indians at Unitarian Church

A TRIBAL CHIEF and leaders of Indian culture and national organizations will join officials of the U.S. Bureau of Indian Affairs in a colorful Unitarian Public Forum—"The Dilemma of the American Indians"—Friday, 8 p.m., Jan. 11, in the main auditorium of the First Unitarian Church of Los Angeles, 2936 W. 8th St.

The speakers will be Clarence Wesley, vice-president of the Natl. Congress of American Indians, cattleman and a chief of the San Carlos Apaches, and Ataloa, a Chickasaw Indian cultural leader and secretary of the Los Angeles Chapter of the Council of American Indians.

The commenting panel will include Ola Beckett, new director of the Los Angeles Field Relocation office of the U.S. Bureau of Indian Affairs; Alida C. Bowler, first woman superintendent of an Indian agency in the U.S., and Myron and Virginia Denetdale, Whittier, Calif., residents and Navajo graduates of the Sherman Indian Institute, Riverside, Calif., as representatives of the Indian youth community.

Admission to the Forum is 75 cents.

The power of positive heaven

IS GOD offering U.S. Negroes a home in heaven so the whites there may have black servants? Will Negroes on their way up the golden stairs find themselves restricted to a flight marked COLORED? Will there be just one "Fountain of God"—or two, for black and white? There will probably be religious meetings—will they be jimcrow or integrated? If Negroes "are allowed to associate with white people there," will members of the White Citizens Councils and the Ku Klux Klan be there too?

Thus did a colored man living in the South with his wife and four children—"all devout church members [who] expect to go to heaven"—query Dr. Norman Vincent Peale, pastor of New York's Marble Collegiate Church, author of **The Power of Positive Thinking,** and **Look** magazine columnist. The man said: "These are questions I keep asking myself and I cannot find the answers."

Dr. Peale in his column reassured the jimcrow victim that "heaven is completely unsegregated." The only division "indicated," he said, seemed to be that of the sheep from the goats, "the good from the bad." In the meantime, while awaiting heavenly integration, Dr. Peale advised, "don't allow yourself to be bitter".

He did not say how the goats would be determined.

SEE NEW TRIAL WARRANTED

Mexican lawyers raise grave questions on legality of Sobell's seizure

THE NOVEMBER, 1956, issue of **La Semana,** a leading Mexican magazine, reports a belief among Mexican legal authorities that the laws and sovereignty of Mexico were blatantly violated by the seizure of Morton Sobell and his family on Mexican soil in August, 1950. The article is headlined: "The Dignity of Mexico Demands Review of the Sobell Case."

Sobell, serving 30 years in Alcatraz on a charge of conspiracy to commit espionage, is appealing to the U. S. Court of Appeals in his effort to prove his innocence and establish that his trial was fraudulent.

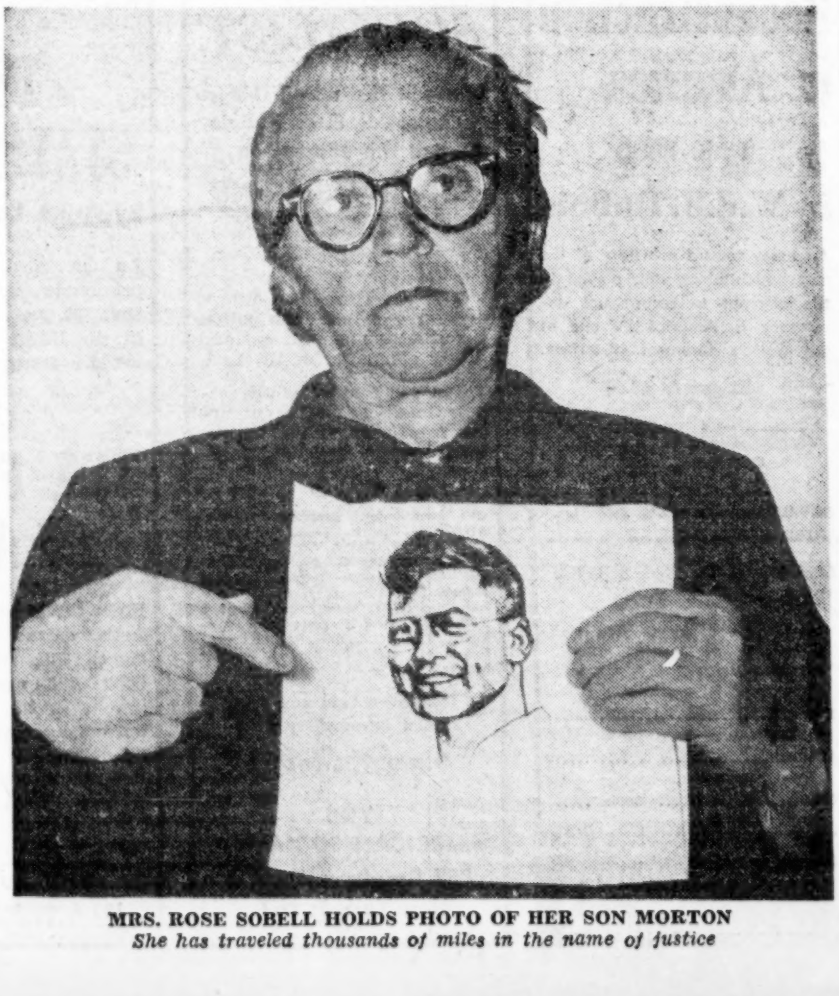
His appeal charges that the prosecutors, without knowledge or participation of Mexican authorities, kidnapped him and his family while they were vacationing in Mexico City. Then, Sobell asserts, the prosecutors deceived the courts with perjured testimony by claiming he had been lawfully deported by the Mexican authorities. Furthermore, Sobell's appeal argues, his illegal seizure violated a U. S. Mexican treaty, and therefore the U. S. courts lacked the sovereign power to try him.

UNIFORM OPINIONS: The article said: "We know that several eminent legal authorities have been consulted and have given uniform legal opinions that such violations completely deprive the court which tried Sobell of its competence and nullify the sentence against him."

The magazine reported discussion of the case at a recent meeting of the Academy of Penal Sciences, where it was stated that Mexico must see that the "guarantees contained in our Constitution for citizens and foreigners and the regulations of extradition treaties in force must be respected; for otherwise Mexican dignity is compromised by the interference of foreign authorities."

The magazine said questions which "greatly interest Mexico" include:

- "How could Morton Sobell have been dragged from his home in Mexico City without the order of competent authority acting upon constitutional laws?
- "How could he cross our frontier, passing by Mexican Immigration authorities, when he had been deprived, as it has been shown, of his papers of identity by his seizers?
- "What validity has the judgment against him from the moment that his delivery to the court was made in violation of civil rights, of the internal laws of Mexico and above all, of the Extradition Treaty in force between Mexico and the United States?"



MRS. ROSE SOBELL HOLDS PHOTO OF HER SON MORTON
She has traveled thousands of miles in the name of justice

BROWNELL TO STAY ON

State of civil liberties takes dip at year's end

CIVIL LIBERTIES had their ups and downs, but mostly downs, during the Yuletide season of 1956. And prospects for the future were not brightened by the announcement that Atty. Gen. Herbert Brownell has agreed, at the President's request, to remain at his post for the next four years.

CP AND SACB: During the holiday season the Subversive Activities Control Board ruled for the second time that the Communist Party is under Moscow control and must register with the Attorney General. The SACB sent its new ruling to the U. S. Court of Appeals with a request that it be approved, and on Dec. 26 Asst. Atty. Gen. William F. Tompkins announced that the Justice Dept. will press for a swift decision. Tompkins, who heads the Dept.'s Internal Security Divn., said the government wants to get the case back before the Supreme Court for a final decision as quickly as possible.

The Supreme Court last April sent the case back to the SACB on the grounds that the testimony of three government witnesses was "tainted." The board expunged that testimony from the record and, on Dec. 11, permitted attorneys for the CP to challenge the credibility of a fourth government witness, Mrs. Mary Stalcup Markward. After hearing cross-examination, the board ruled that nothing had been brought out to cause it to believe her to be "anything but a truthful and forthright witness." The board then blocked defense cross-examination of other government witnesses and reaffirmed its original verdict.

The defense had called Mrs. Markward "a perjurer" and said she had lied in a 1954 Defense Dept. hearing against Mrs. Anna Lee Moss, who was reinstated in her government job despite Mrs. Markward's sworn testimony that she had known her as a CP member.

RIGHT TO TRAVEL: The fight for the right to travel got a set-back on Dec. 21 when Federal District Judge Joseph C. McGarraghy in Washington ruled that due process of law is not violated when the State Dept. denies a passport on the basis of undisclosed secret information. The ruling was made in the case of Weldon Bruce Dayton, a New York cosmic ray scientist who has been trying since 1954 to go to India to accept a teaching post.

Judge McGarraghy accepted a State Dept. declaration that it had reason to believe Dayton "is going abroad to engage in activities which will advance the communist movement" and that to disclose its confidential information or its source "might prejudice the conduct of U. S. foreign relations." Dayton has denied he was ever a communist.

The ruling was directly counter to an earlier one in a similar case made by Judge Luther W. Youngdahl of the same court in November, 1955. He wrote then that "more and more the courts have become aware of the irreparable damage which may be, has been, and is wrought by the secret informer and faceless talebearer whose identity and testimony remain locked in confidential files."

DETROIT CONVICTION: In Detroit on Dec. 19 Arthur McPhaul, a former official of the Civil Rights Congress, was convicted in a Federal court of contempt of Congress. In 1952 he had refused to surrender books and records of his organization to the House Committee on Un-American Activities. He announced he will appeal.

NEW HAMPSHIRE JAILING: In Concord, N. H., where State Atty. Gen. Louis Wyman is engaged in a sort of permanent witch-hunt, Hugo Degregory was ordered to jail until he answers questions about alleged communist associations. Degregory, a one-time candidate for Lieutenant-Governor of Massachusetts on the CP ticket, refused an offer of immunity and declined to answer questions under the Fifth Amendment.

Degregory was denied a stay of sentence pending appeal, but Chief Justice Frank B. Kenison of the State Supreme Court promised quick action on the appeal. Degregory is challenging the constitutionality of the State immunity statute.

NELSON TRIAL DELAYED—In Pittsburgh the second trial of Steve Nelson and four others under the Smith Act, originally set to begin Jan. 7, was postponed indefinitely. Lack of defense counsel was given as the reason for the delay. The Supreme Court ordered a new trial for the five when the government itself asked for a check on the credibility of one of its chief witnesses in the case, Joseph D. Mazzei.

KONIGSBERG CASE: The Nat'l Lawyers Guild has announced that the Supreme Court has granted it permission to file a friend of court brief in the case of Ralph Konigsberg, who has been denied the right to practice law in California because he invoked the First Amendment in declining to answer questions about his political beliefs. The Guild in its brief challenges the legality of political tests for the right to practice law.

SHIBLEY CASE MOTION: In Los Angeles Jan. 7 was set for argument on a motion to quash the three-year prison sentence against attorney George Shibley. Shibley, who successfully defended a Marine Corps enlisted man, was thereafter charged by the Marine Corps with illegal possession of documents in the case which he didn't possess, didn't need and could have obtained legally. The Supreme Court twice refused to review the case, although the appeal was supported by 400 outstanding lawyers. Shibley will be represented in court by Joseph A. Ball, president of the California State Bar Assn., and Morris Lavine, noted criminal lawyer. They will argued for a reduction of sentence and probation.

SEAMEN HOUNDED: On the West Coast some screened seamen recently ordered by a Federal court to be reinstated with valid papers by the Coast Guard were still being harassed. They were receiving long questionnaires with orders to fill them out under oath and return them within 30 days. A covering letter said there has "come to our attention information of such a nature as to warrant inquiry into your eligibility to hold a validated U. S. Merchant Mariner's document."

The court order ruled that no seamen can be screened off the waterfront without a full hearing with due process of law. It specifically condemned the use of secret informers.

THE HAWAII AFTERMATH: Sen. James O. Eastland's Internal Security subcommittee on Dec. 17 forwarded to the Justice Dept. the transcript of its recent hearings in Hawaii. Committee counsel Robert Morris said he was calling the Dept.'s attention to testimony which he thinks indicates violation of the Foreign Agents Registration Act. An official of the Int'l Longshoremen's & Warehousemen's Union was charged with selling a copy of the now defunct **China Monthly Review** some years ago. A government witness held that persons who receive foreign publications for sale in U. S. territory must register as foreign agents.

ONE CHEERY NOTE: There was one small bright spot: a San Francisco Appellate Court unanimously barred that city's Housing Authority from requiring tenants to sign loyalty oaths.

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Good advice

NEW YORK, N.Y.

The following is quoted from the book, **The Big Change**, by Allen:

> The records of governmental investigations and of court trials during the last years of the 19th century are full of instances of men saying over and over again on the witness stand, as Wm. Rockefeller did in a railroad rate case, "I decline to answer on advice of counsel." In this particular case the lawyer who was questioning him pursued the matter, and the following colloquy took place:
>
> "On the ground that the answer will incriminate you?"
>
> "I decline to answer on advice of counsel."
>
> "Or is it that the answer will subject you to some forfeiture?"
>
> "I decline to answer on advice of counsel."
>
> "Do you decline on the ground that the answer will disgrace you?"
>
> "I decline to answer on advice of counsel."
>
> "Did your counsel tell you to stick to that one answer?"
>
> "I decline to answer on advice of counsel."

There is no record that Wm. Rockefeller was cited for contempt.

Name Withheld

CALENDAR

Chicago

EARL ROBINSON sings at 8th Annual **FESTIVAL OF NATIONALITIES**, Sat. eve., Jan. 12. Colorful folk songs, dances. Milda Theatre, 3140 S. Halsted. Adm. $1. Door-$1.25. Ausp: Midwest Comm. for Protection of Foreign Born.

American Socialist Forum Presents **"EAST EUROPE REVOLT."** What caused it and what does it mean for world socialism? Speaker: **HARRY BRAVERMAN**, editor American Socialist. Fri., Jan 11, 8 p.m., Midland Hotel, 172 W. Adams. Cont. $1. Students 50c.

Milwaukee

REVOLTS IN EASTERN EUROPE
Speaker: Harry Braverman, Editor, American Socialist. Sun., Jan. 13, 8 p.m. Republican Hotel, 907 N. 3 St., Room A. Discussion period. Cont. 75c. Ausp.: **AMERICAN SOCIALIST.**

Minneapolis

TWIN CITIES SYMPOSIUM
"WHAT NEXT FOR THE AMERICAN LEFT?" Speakers: **M. H. BAKER** (Minn. Comm. for Independent Progressive Political Action).
V. R. DUNNE (Socialist Workers Party)
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• • • • •

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Jan. 25th America's Road to Socialism—a Re-examination. Speakers: **Joseph Starobin, Angus Cameron.**
Feb. 8th. Labor and the South: The Battle for Integration: Speakers **Conrad Lynn, Clive Knowles.**
Feb. 15th: American Labor Politics, Democratic Party or Third Party? Speakers: **Russ Nixon, Tom Kerry, Robert Claiborne.**
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Friendly Organizations Please Note! Bronx Sobell Committee is sponsoring a concert **SATURDAY EVE., MARCH 9.**

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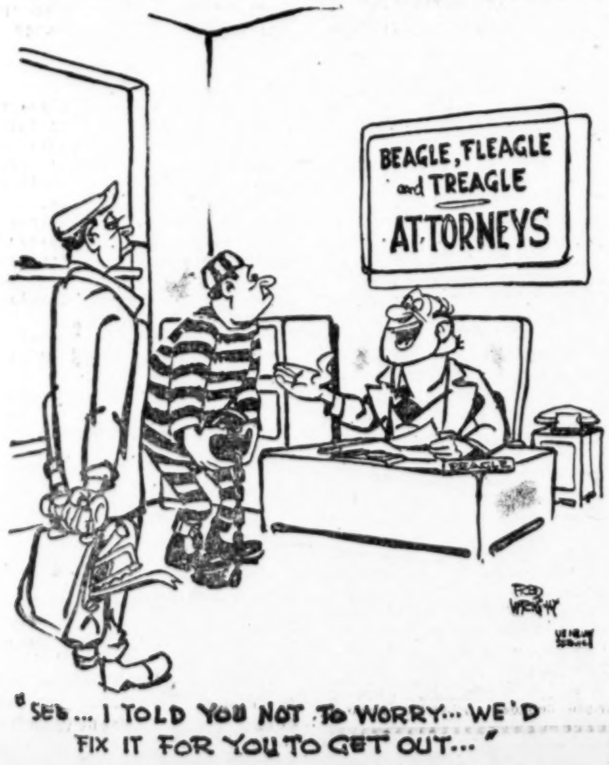

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The election is over and reflection is in order. As a loyal progressive, I voted for Vincent Hallinan for President and Reuben Borough for Senator. If I had voted for Eisenhower, I would have voted for corporation control and bomb folly. If I had voted for Stevenson I would have voted for Dixiecrat control of Congress. If I had voted for one of the three socialist parties I would have been taking part in a family row.

This country has been militarized and free thinking, free speaking and free political action have been banned by Democrats and Republicans jointly.

Yours for Restoration of the Republic. **J. N. McCullough**

Enlightenment

PORTLAND, ORE.

The worth of this wonderful paper cannot be measured by the low subscription charge. I shudder to think how much more in the dark I would have been all these years if it had not been for the enlightenment of this little friend each week. I only wish I could really show my appreciation in a large subsidy.

Mary Lee Martin

An obscure hope

NATIONAL CITY, CALIF.

The enclosed modest contribution is less than the traditional "drop in the bucket." Without you and others like you we would have already been under fascism. Your will power, your intellect, your inexhaustible energy is feeding the obscure hope of the people of our country.

F. Agliano

IN N. Y. JAN. 18

Left unity forum topic

"CAN THE LEFT UNITE"? is topic for the first symposium of the new year in which representatives of several political trends will discuss the possibilities for rebuilding a socialist movement in the U.S. The participants will be A. J. Muste of the Fellowship of Reconciliation, John T. McManus, of the **National Guardian**, Max Shachtman of the Independent Socialist League and Farrell Dobbs of the Socialist Workers Party. Clifford T McAvoy will be chairman. The meeting will be held Friday evening, Jan. 18, at the Great Northern Hotel, 118 W. 57th St.

The meeting is sponsored by the Socialist Unity Forum as the first of its 1957 series, designed "to provide a platform where socialists of various persuasions may discuss important problems" aimed at "the regroupment of socialists in a new and united movement"

Other forums scheduled will feature Joseph Starobin, Angus Cameron, Conrad Lynn, Clive Knowles and others. Topics will include America's Road to Socialism—A Re-Examination; The Battle for Integration in the South; American Labor Politics.

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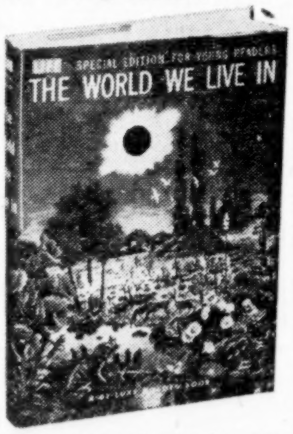

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READERS WRITE

All about us

In the Mailbag on Page 2 we print many letters that disagree with articles that appear in the GUARDIAN. But each day's mail brings dozens of letters (especially at holiday time) testifying to the readers' devotion to the paper, and telling why. As ammunition for readers to get new readers, we print below a selection of letters received during the holiday season just past. If you feel this way, will you pass the paper on to a possible subscriber?

High standards

LOS ANGELES, CALIF.

As charter subscribers, charter Buck-of-the-Monthers and former newswriters, we herewith express our intense admiration for the consistently high creative standards you have maintained in the nature and quality of information provided, and for your style.

We admire Belfrage's and Petran's coverage of the reactions abroad to current events. We applaud the masterly handling of each of the cases you have dug up and followed through on, from the Trenton Six right on through Rosenberg-Sobell, Tokyo Rose and the Powell-Schuman travesty. Not to mention the valuable roundups on the growing strength and successes of the Negro people, who, incidentally, have an awful lot to teach the rest of us on how to obtain results. (This is what happens when we sit down to write our first fan letter to you—we go on and on with all the things we've only talked about before!)

What we've been trying to say is—we can't get along without the GUARDIAN. Therefore, we are increasing our Buck-of-the-Month to two bucks a month, and opine that other regulars could do the same. We expect the loss from pocketbook to be more than made up for by the continued existence of one of life's necessities!

Constant Readers

Truth and advocacy

BROOKLYN, N.Y.

Your compactness and clarity of style, and your literate, readable prose, combine to provide an excellent format for your incisive analyses and accurate reportage. The GUARDIAN is a first-class example of how respect for truth and hard-hitting advocacy go hand-in-hand in left-wing literature. **P.S.**

Plenty of wrinkles

ERWIN, TENN.

We are greatly interested in any new wrinkle that can bring extra funds to the GUARDIAN. Here is one we are trying out today. Having a visitor going home to the Big City, we are giving her a dozen jars of our country jellies and jams—which she is going to raffle off among her city friends. A sort of two-way, city-country collaboration. Few of us, indeed, but has some little way, scheme or trick that can be worked to help. So let's everybody look up his sleeve.

E. & E. Seeman

No murk here

COLUMBIA, S.C.

I feel that my small contributions are more than repaid by the comfort of reading reliable information, free from the murky clouds of commercial advertising.

Florence H. Rubins

Our advertisers, though commercial, are not "murky," do not seek to control editorial policy. We urge you to patronize them—and to tell them why.—Ed.

Backwash of pessimism

BROOKLYN, N.Y.

I have been a subscriber to the GUARDIAN for more than four years, and have also subscribed to **Freedom** and **March of Labor.** It is my firm conviction that the press, more than any other single factor, holds the Left together, offers to us information and hope and courage.

I was therefore dismayed to learn that both **Freedom** and **March of Labor** were suspending publication, this on top of the demise of the American Labor Party. We are all living through extremely painful times. I can still remember the hysterical anti-Sovietism rampant during the period of the Russo-German pact of 1939. But that passed, and history reasserted itself, and man continued to progress. I am supremely confident today's difficulties will pass and society, like man, will continue its inevitable process of evolution. But I fear that the backwash of pessimism, confusion and disagreement may damage the GUARDIAN. I can scarcely think of a greater loss!

Can we all close ranks in support of the GUARDIAN? Each of us surely can help in some way. Can you spare a buck, or solicit one new subscription?

Can we all keep alive the embers which will someday be a flame?

Sid Katz

E. Europe reporting

CHICAGO, ILL.

Your stuff on Eastern Europe has been superb. Were it not for you and a few faithful letter writers to you and the dailies, sometimes I would become lost amid my own swaying feelings.

P. Gourfain

Prophetic vision

PROVIDENCE, R.I.

It is my opinion the GUARDIAN in recent months scaled new heights—reaching at points peaks of prophetic vision—without which men perish. To one lonely passenger on the good old ship I like to call Mother Earth, the GUARDIAN has helped me keep my hope in America during this, her dark age.

For there is some hope if there are enough readers in the U.S.A. to support a publication of intelligence and enlightenment—truly a lamp—a torch—such as the GUARDIAN — GUARDIAN of our tormented souls, mayhap it will become GUARDIAN of our precarious existence in an H-bomb climate.

Clemens France

Dalton Trumbo's ideas

LOS ANGELES, CALIF.

In all the years I have subscribed to your wonderful paper, my approval was always silent. This is the first time I have been moved to let you know that I think the GUARDIAN is tops. The article which stirred me from my easy chair to my typewriter is the reprint of Dalton Trumbo's speech at the Guardian Anniversary Dinner in New York. Of all the reams of material which has been printed as a result of recent events, I felt that Mr. Trumbo's ideas were the most refreshingly honest and incisive. Coupled with his stature as a person, his ideas bear a good deal of study.

Best wishes for the coming year.

Lillian G. Kipnis

No high-brow stuff

E. ORANGE, N.J.

In spite of its faint voice, I fully appreciate the importance of the NATIONAL GUARDIAN at the present juncture of our national and international life. My suggestion for improvement weekly is to learn from the general press and to talk to people in their own language and not in high-brow language on matters that concern them.

Am endeavoring to induce some people to subscribe to your publication.

H.D.